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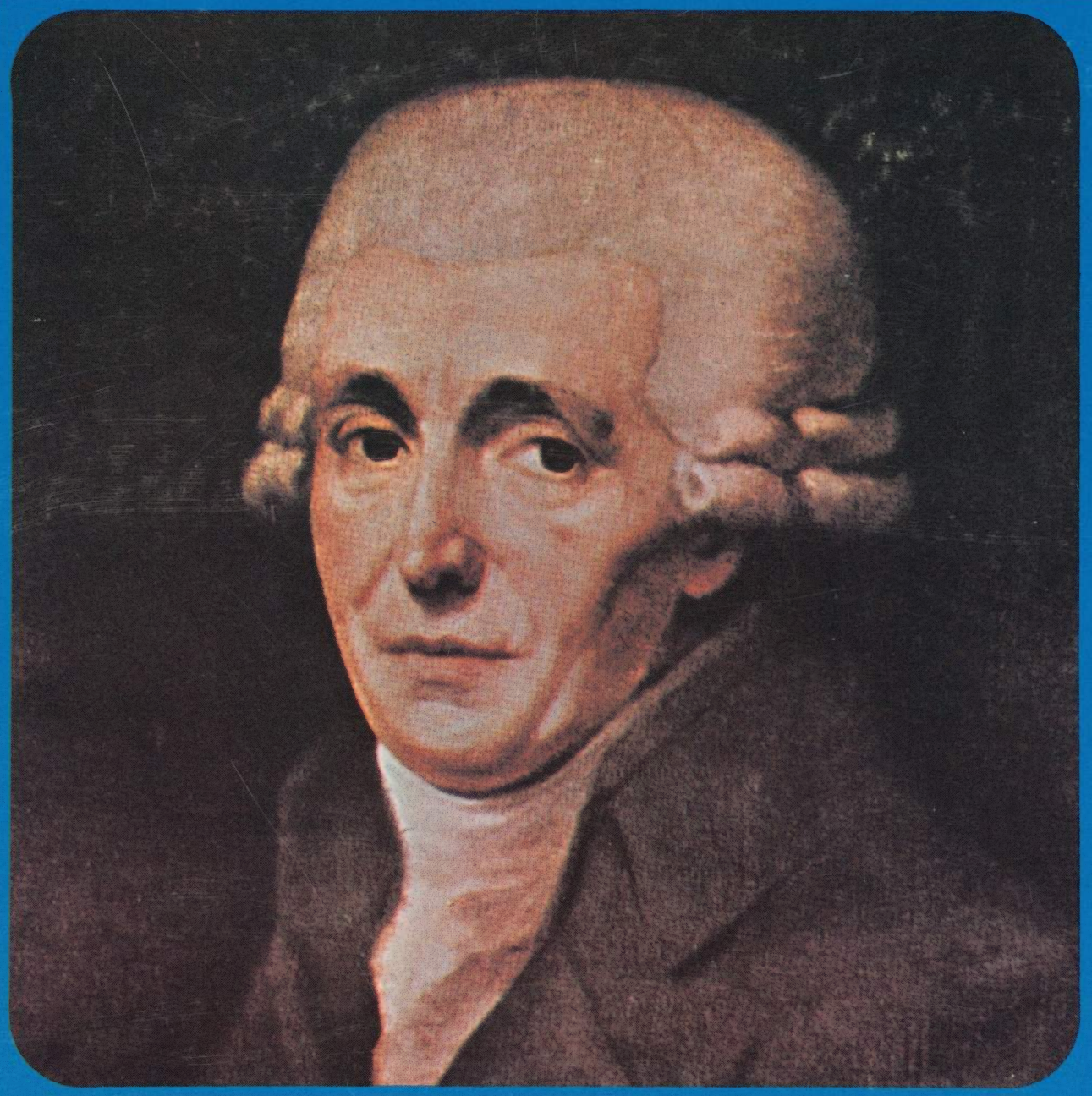
The Complete Symphonies of Haydn Volume Nine

SYMPHONIES NOS. 93-104

ANTAL DORATI · THE PHILHARMONIA HUNGARICA



An engraving from a portrait by Thomas Hardy, 1792. The Royal College of Music, London.

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Recording Producer: James Mallinson.
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Haydn Symphonies (93-104)
"London Symphonies"
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by
Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE
SYMPHONY No. 93 in D
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro assai (7:53)
2. 2nd mvt. Largo cantabile (5:24)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuetto e Trio-Allegro (4:44)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto ma non troppo (5:38)

SIDE TWO
SYMPHONY No. 94 in G "Surprise"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Vivace assai (8:29)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (5:51)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro molto (4:05)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Allegro di molto (3:48)

SIDE THREE
SYMPHONY No. 95 in C minor
1. 1st mvt. Allegro moderato (7:06)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante cantabile (5:06)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio (5:08)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (4:58)

SIDE FOUR
SYMPHONY No. 96 in D "The Miracle"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro (7:14)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (5:53)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuetto e Trio-Allegretto (5:23)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (3:40)

SIDE FIVE
SYMPHONY No. 97 in C
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Vivace (7:52)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio ma non troppo (6:50)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuetto e Trio-Allegretto (4:23)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto assai (5:15)

SIDE SIX
SYMPHONY No. 98 in B flat
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro (7:40)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio (5:29)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro (5:56)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto (8:41)

SIDE SEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 99 in E flat
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Vivace assai (8:29)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio (7:10)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegretto (6:07)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (4:12)

SIDE EIGHT
SYMPHONY No. 100 in G "Military"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro (7:28)
2. 2nd mvt. Allegretto (5:47)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Moderato (5:15)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto (4:56)

SIDE NINE
SYMPHONY No. 101 in D "The Clock"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Presto (8:14)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (7:27)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegretto (8:17)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Vivace (5:06)

SIDE TEN
SYMPHONY No. 102 in B flat
1. 1st mvt. Largo-Vivace (8:38)
2. 2nd mvt. Adagio (5:22)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro (6:45)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Presto (4:39)

SIDE ELEVEN
SYMPHONY No. 103 in E flat "Drum Roll"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro con spirito (8:46)
2. 2nd mvt. Andante più tosto, allegretto (9:35)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio (5:16)
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Allegro con spirito (5:24)

SIDE TWELVE
SYMPHONY No. 104 in D "London"
1. 1st mvt. Adagio-Allegro
2. 2nd mvt. Andante (8:08)
3. 3rd mvt. Menuet e Trio-Allegro
4. 4th mvt. Finale-Spiritoso (6:53)

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Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939-40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Weiner Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 93-104 "London Symphonies" by H.C. Robbins Landon

Catalogue, arranged in the presumed chronological order.

Sinfonia No. 96 in D ("The Miracle"), London 1791.
I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuetto & Trio (Allegretto).* IV. *Finale: Vivace (assai).*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1791, Royal Philharmonic Society (British Museum); (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg (Bavaria), with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, copied before March, 1793; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand; (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach (February 1795); (7) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (April 1795). The supposedly autograph piano reduction of the first, third and last movements (Landon *The Symphonies,* 755 source 2) is not autograph; it is now owned by Dr. Fritz Moldenhauer of Spokane, Washington. There are also arrangements for piano trio of all twelve London Symphonies made by J.P. Salomon and published by him, as well as his arrangements of all twelve for flute, 2 violins, viola, cello and piano, of which the autographs are owned by Mr. Alfred Newman in Hollywood, California, and which Salomon published more or less simultaneously in his own edition in London and also at Simrock's in Bonn. Both arrangements are sometimes useful in establishing the texts.

Sinfonia No. 95 in C minor, London 1791. I. *Allegro moderato.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuet & Trio.* IV. *Finale: Vivace.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (with solo violin and solo cello).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1791, Royal Philharmonic Society (British Museum); (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest (wanting the first bassoon part); (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (4) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (February 1795); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (April 1795).

Sinfonia No. 93 in D, London 1791. I. *Adagio – Allegro assai.* II. *Largo cantabile.* III. *Menuetto & Trio.* IV. *Finale: Presto, ma non troppo.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(0) Autograph, last seen by the Haydn scholar C.F. Pohl at the Court Book Shop of Eduard Leibrock in Braunschweig in c. 1870. The MS. was formerly owned by Artaria & Co., who certified its authenticity on 14 June 1834. It was entitled "In Nomine Domini . . . Londini 791". (1) MS. copy of the autograph by an Esterházy copyist, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest (from Haydn's legacy); (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg (Bavaria) with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, copied before March, 1793; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (4) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (June 1796); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (July 1796).

Sinfonia No. 94 in G ("The Surprise"; "Mit dem Paukenschlag"), London 1791. I. *Adagio cantabile – Vivace assai.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuetto & Trio: Allegro molto.* IV. *Finale: Allegro di molto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1791, Berlin State Library; (2a) last page of first and all the second movement, Library of Congress; (2b) MS. copy of the autograph by an Esterházy copyist, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest (from Haydn's legacy); (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Donaueschingen; (4) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (5) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (June 1795); (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach (August 1795).

Sinfonia No. 98 in B flat, London 1792 (?). I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Adagio.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegro.* IV. *Finale: Presto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (with solo violin) and solo harpsichord (only end of Finale).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, the signature and date torn off, Berlin State Library, from the library of Ludwig van Beethoven; 4 pages of the Finale, containing bars 75-128, are missing; the MS. was removed for safe-keeping during the last war and has disappeared; (2) MS. score by a British copyist whom Haydn used during the first London visit (he also copied the Esterházy Archives score of *L'anima del filosofo*); apparently a copy of the autograph; Royal Philharmonic Society (British Museum); (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg (Bavaria) with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, copied before March 1793; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (February 1796); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (July 1796); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 97 in C, London 1792. I. *Adagio – Vivace.* II. *Adagio, ma non troppo.* III. *Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto.* IV. *Finale: Spiritoso* (later altered to *Presto assai).*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (solo violin in III/Trio).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1792, Mrs. Eva Alberman ("heirs of Stefan Zweig"), London, from the auction by Gerd Rosen, Berkin, April 1951; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; the MS. contains corrections in Haydn's hand, *inter alia* the change in IV's tempo; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Archives, Schloss Harburg, with additions and corrections in Haydn's hand; copied before March, 1793; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Donaueschingen; (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (April 1796); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (July 1796); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 99 in E flat, 1793. I. *Adagio – Vivace assai.* II. *Adagio,* III. *Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto.* IV. *Finale: Vivace.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, Berlin State Library (now unavailable, see No. 98 [I]); the first page of music is signed 1793 and the whole is on Italian (not British) paper; the outside title page signed 1794, the year of the first performance; (1a) sketches to the Finale, Austrian National Library, Vienna; (1b) Haydn's autograph arrangement of the Finale for musical clock, Berlin State Library; (2) MS. copy of the autograph by Johann Elssler, the title page containing Haydn's autograph note "16 bo. [Bögen]", Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, from Haydn's legacy; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, partly on British paper and partly on Italian, representing in the case of the woodwind, brass and timpani parts Haydn's authentic British orchestral material, to which was later added a set of string parts in Vienna; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with a note in another hand "ricevuta da lui medesimo/in segno d'amicizia", Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; (5) printed parts by Simrock, Bonn (February 1801); (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach (1801); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 100 in G ("Military"), London 1794 (the Minuet on Italian paper and probably composed in Vienna or Eisenstadt, 1793). I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Allegretto.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Moderato.* IV. *Finale: Presto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, Turkish instruments (triangle, cymbals, bass drum, possibly also tambourine, strings (2 violas in II).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph (minus II), Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, from Haydn's legacy; (1a) Autograph of the second movement arranged for flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, serpent, 2 horns and 2 trumpets with "tamburo", entitled "March", Captain Rudolph Nydahl, Stockholm; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; (3) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (4) printed parts by Gombart, Augsburg (February 1799); (5) printed parts by André, Offenbach (March 1799), with many of the printer's errors of the Gombart corrected; (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (Spring 1799?); (7) printed parts by Sieber, Paris (April 1799).

Sinfonia No. 101 ("The Clock": in 1798 Traeg issued II as "Rondo . . . Die Uhr", which shows that the subtitle was known that early) in D, London 1794, but the autograph written on two types of paper – British and Italian – so that we may assume that part of the Symphony was composed in 1793 in Austria.
I. *Adagio – Presto, ma non troppo* (later: *Presto*). II. *Andante.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegretto.* IV. *Finale: Vivace.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets (not listed in the *instrumentarium* of the autograph, but one solo passage still visible in I: 324 ff with indication in 323 "Clar", and the clarinet parts, with a correction by Haydn in Donaueschingen, *vide infra*), 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1794, Berlin State Library (now unavailable: see No. 98 [1]); (1a) sketches to the Minuet, Austrian National Library; (1b) Haydn's autograph arrangement of the Minuet for musical clock, Berlin State Library; (2) MS. copy of the autograph by Johann Elssler, the title page containing Haydn's autograph note "20 1/2 Bögen", Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest, from Haydn's legacy; includes the clarinet parts, also in the *instrumentarium;* (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; from Haydn's legacy; the string parts on British paper and used for the first performance, and subsequent performances as well; the players' names noted: V.I "Mr. Salomon", V.II "P. Dahmen", Va. "Fiorilo & Slezak"; no clarinet parts and the passage in I: 324 ff. rewritten to avoid their solo passage; with duplicate string parts; (4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler and another copyist, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Donaueschingen; with the clarinet parts corrected by Haydn, and with other holograph corrections and additions; (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material; (6) printed parts by André, Offenbach, [Autumn?] 1799, based on a MS. copy still in the André Archives (M 12478); (7) printed parts by Gombart, Augsburg (Spring 1799); (8) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (Autumn 1799?).

Sinfonia No. 102 in B flat, London 1794. I. *Largo – Vivace.* II. *Adagio.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegro.* IV. *Finale: Presto.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, violoncello solo (in II), strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, Berlin State Library, dated London 1794 on the first page of music and 1795, the date of the first performance, on the title page; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; the wind and timpani parts on British paper and used in the London concerts, the strings on Italian paper and added subsequently; (3) printed parts by Simrock, Bonn (February 1801); (4) printed parts by André, Offenbach (1801); (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 103 in E flat ("Drum Roll"), London 1795. I. *Adagio – Allegro con spirito.* II. *Andante* (later: *Andante, più tosto Allegretto*). III. *Menuet & Trio.* IV. *Finale: Allegro con spirito.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings (with solo violin in II).
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, dated London 1795, given to Luigi Cherubini by Haydn in February 1806 and signed again: "Padre del celebre Cherubini/ai 24: tro Febr: 806", now British Museum, London. (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; the wind and timpani parts on British paper and used in the London concerts, the strings on Italian paper and added subsequently; (3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler and others, lacking the Minuet, Esterházy Archives, National Library, Budapest; (4) printed parts by André, Offenbach, [Autumn?] 1799, based on a MS. copy still in the André Archives (M 12476); (5) printed parts by Gombart, Augsburg (Spring 1799); (6) printed parts by Artaria, Vienna (Autumn 1799?); (7) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

Sinfonia No. 104 in D ("London"/"Salomon"), London 1795. I. *Adagio – Allegro.* II. *Andante.* III. *Menuet & Trio: Allegro.* IV. *Finale: Spiritoso.*
2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, strings.
Principal sources:
(1) Autograph, on cover Haydn's title "795/The 12th which I have composed in England", signed again inside on first page of music, London 1795; (2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler with corrections and additions in Haydn's hand, Princely Fürstenberg Archives, Schloss Donaueschingen; the wind and timpani parts on British paper and used in the London concerts, the strings on Italian paper and added subsequently; (3) printed parts by Simrock, Bonn (February 1801); (4) printed parts by André, Offenbach (1801); (5) printed parts by Robert Birchall, London, based on Salomon's orchestral material.

CHRONOLOGY:

There is an autograph sheet written by Haydn, listing the incipits of all twelve London Symphonies. It was sold at the "XXXVI. Autographen-Versteigerungs-Catalog Leo Liepmannsohn" as No. 91 (Berlin, 4 and 5 Nov. 1907), then formed part of the Westley Manning Collection in London, was sold at Sotheby's on 12 October 1954 (item 207), and is now owned by Messrs. J. A. Stargardt of Marburg/Lahn. The sheet is British paper with a dated watermark 1794 and includes as well the sketch to the slow movement of the "Gypsy Rondo"

Work	Date on Autograph	First performance	Other Date
96	London 1791	1791 season (or 11 March 1791? See Chronicle)	Entered in Herr v. Kees's Cat. as having come from London.
95	London 1791	1791 season	Ditto.

NB: We cannot determine the internal chronology of these 1791 Symphonies. In the Kees Catalogue they are listed as 96–95 (in Kees's Cat. Nos. 93 and 94 resp. "NB Von London gekommen").

93	London 1791	17 Feb. 1792	Haydn's Diary and supplementary note by Griesinger (who added "in D" to Haydn's "In the first concert only the Adagio of the new Symphony was repeated."
94	London 1791	23 March 1792	Local Press describes slow movt. Haydn withheld this work till after No. 98 and the *Concertante* had been performed.
98	London 1792(?)	2 March 1792	Haydn's Diary, giving key.
97	London 1792	3 or 4 May 1792	One assumes that Haydn saved the new work for his own benefit on 3 May and repeated it on 4 May.
99	[Austria 1793]	10 Feb. 1794	Criticism in *Morning Chronicle* 19 Feb. refers to the solo woodwind passage in II.
100	London 1794	31 March 1794	Criticism in *Morning Chronicle* 9 April.
101	London 1794	3 March 1794	Various criticisms.

NB: The internal chronology of Nos. 100 and 101 cannot be established: both autographs contain sections composed in Austria, and while No. 101 was played first, the fact that No. 100 contains as II a reworking of an older (1786) Concerto for 2 lire would suggest that strictly speaking at least part of the new Symphony was composed before No. 101, though the latter was probably completed before No. 100.

102	London 1794	2 Feb. 1795	See Chronicle.
103	London 1795	2 March 1795	*Morning Chronicle* specifically mentions Introduction in its review of 3 March.
104	London 1795	4 May 1795	See *Morning Chronicle's* review of 6 May.

Trio 39. The Symphonies are listed as follows:

795	in E mol [103]	in D [104]	in B fa [102]
794	[101]	in E mol [99]	in G [100]
792	[94]	[98]	[93]
[originally "791"]			
791	[95]	[96]	[97]

Obviously this catalogue was drawn up in the late Spring or early Summer of 1795, after the final Opera Concert. It only purports to show the years in which the various Symphonies were first performed, not the date of composition (e.g. No. 99 was composed in 1793, No. 93 in 1791, *etc.*); it is also not in chronological order within these years, because we know that No. 94 was certainly not the first work of the 1792 season; and it misplaces No. 97 in the 1791 season, whereas the dated autograph informs us that it was a 1792 work. Thus, the catalogue is not much use to us. Here, in tabular form is the chronological list with explanations: (see table above).

The information on the watermarks of those Symphonies of which the autographs, formerly in the Berlin State Library, are now in Eastern Europe and unavailable, was provided by two sources: (1) the notes which Professor J. P. Larsen made before World War II and which he kindly placed at our disposal; (2) the notes which the late Professor Helmut Schultz made before World War II, kindly made available to us by Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig. Photographs of two Symphonies, Nos. 99 and 101, were fortunately made for the Hoboken Photogramm-Archiv of the National Library, Vienna, before the MSS. disappeared, while of the third missing work, No. 98, Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, made available to us an exact copy, with copious notes on the watermarks, changes, first drafts, *etc.* in the MS. made by Professor Schultz before World War II.

Textual Problems, and Their Consequences in Interpretation.

The first inkling that all was not right with Haydn's Salomon Symphonies could be realized from the appearance in the 1930s of some of these works in Edition Eulenburg, then Leipzig. No less than two new editions appeared of No. 103, the final one edited, as was most of the series, by the late Dr. Ernst Praetorius in February 1938; here for the first time in modern history, the clarinet parts of the Trio were restored. In Praetorius's edition of No. 96, which did not use the autograph or any authentic MS. sources, it became nevertheless clear that there were two completely different sets of trumpet and timpani parts. Astonishingly, these interesting Eulenburg editions, though widely distributed among music students and conductors, had no effect whatever either on the scholarly world – there is no mention of the problem in Larsen's pioneer book *Die Haydn-Überlieferung* (1939) – or in the practical sense. Conductors went on playing these famous late works in the same old Breitkopf & Härtel or Peters editions. This is the more surprising since Breitkopf & Härtel had engaged the late Dr. Helmut Schultz to carry on the symphonic series of the *Gesamtausgabe* (which had reached No. 49 by 1933) and also to prepare good "working editions" of some of the later works. Schultz published *inter*

alia new editions of Nos. 95 and 96 – not, alas, using the British Museum autographs – but having had access to the Esterházy parts. And to any conductor using these new scores, it must have appeared that there were grave textual differences between them and the old accepted versions. In particular, it must have seemed curious that in Schultz's edition the trumpets and timpani of No. 96 were (with a few exceptions) those "new" parts first mentioned and printed as *ossia* readings in the Eulenburg score. One would have thought that with two new scores of No. 96, conductors would have been puzzled and curious to pursue the matter. But the matter was greeted with total indifference. At this very period, His Master's Voice (The Gramophone Company) recorded Haydn's Symphony No. 96 for the first time with Bruno Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra – but in the old version that everybody knew. The war then put an abrupt stop to textual investigations of Haydn's symphonies, as pursued in splendid isolation by Doctors Praetorius and Schultz.

Having first studied these problems as best as the conditions allowed, which meant *via* such revised Eulenburg and Breitkopf scores – and they soon became exceedingly rare – as existed, the present writer later made an investigation of the whole textual problem of Haydn's first Salomon Symphonies, the results of which he published in 1954. Including a detailed list of corrections to the Eulenburg scores, he came to the conclusion that "the scores and parts of certain of the first six 'Salomon' Symphonies and *Sinfonia Concertante* in everyday use are flagrant falsifications of Haydn's own texts." In this article, attention was drawn *inter alia* to the newly discovered Ilssler parts, with Haydn's corrections, of Symphonies 93, 96, 97 and 98 in Harburg Castle, till then unknown to the musical world.

In 1954, however, there were many discoveries still to be made. The Esterházy materials were only partially available, and photographs of all of them did not arrive from Budapest until some years later. In 1958 and 1959, we were able to announce in the *Music Review* our discovery of a whole series of authentic parts of the Salomon Symphonies, corrected by Haydn and partly on British paper with the watermark date "1794", at Donaueschingen Castle. Still later, we persuaded the British Museum's Music Room to purchase a series of printed editions by Robert Birchall which proved to be based on Salomon's long-disappeared orchestral material. All this new information, and other important material by German colleagues on the significance and chronology of the earliest printed editions of the Salomon Symphonies, could be incorporated in the first critical edition, which was published between 1961 and 1967 by the Haydn-Mozart Presse of the Universal Edition.

The history of how these great works came to be falsified in the offices of Messrs. Simrock, Breitkopf & Härtel, Bote & Bock, Le Duc, *etc.* cannot concern us here; the changes are all spurious, done without Haydn's knowledge or approval, and most of the worst cases (Nos. 96 and 98) appeared after his death. (Haydn knew Le Duc's score of No. 98 and found the series unfortunate, but having omitted the trumpets and timpani of No. 98 entirely it did not sin in that respect except by omission.)

The restoration of the authentic texts brought with it certain questions of interpretation which are perhaps worth recalling.

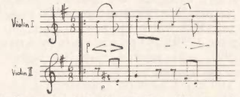
Since Nos. 96 and 98 were, to all intents and purposes, re-orchestrated by these publishing hacks in the nineteenth century, we might do well to examine some of the problems briefly. By the time these corrupt texts had entered the public domain in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, replacing the older and partly authentic editions such as Birchall, André, Artaria, Simrock's older parts (they were later revised and "brought up to date", *i.e.* in line with the new spurious texts), Gombart, Imbault, Sieber, *etc.*, symphonies were no longer played without a conductor. In the eighteenth century, the leader, that is, the *Konzertmeister* of the first violin section, had held the performance together; although Haydn conducted his Salomon Symphonies from the keyboard, this old *quasi-continuo* tradition was already obsolete and in most performances of the works in large centres like Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg or Vienna, a piano was no longer used for Haydn's or Mozart's later symphonies. Thus there arose the need for full scores. Since everyone knew that the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century orchestral parts were full of printing errors and also did not even agree with each other – an orchestra could not have played a correct performance of Symphony No. 96 using the Birchall and Artaria parts simultaneously – not only was a score needed but also parts which agreed with the score. As Breitkopf & Härtel, for example, gradually came to print revised scores and parts of the late Haydn symphonies, taste had changed enormously and these works were no longer the main staple of orchestral repertoire that they had been from about 1795 (as far as they were printed) to 1815. People had forgotten what Symphony No. 96, or 98, had sounded like when Haydn had conducted it in London or Vienna. The recasting of these two particular symphonies concerned not only their trumpet and drum parts but also (in the case of No. 96) the bassoon parts. There were changes in the harmony, even in the very melodies themselves. In the Minuets of Nos. 94 and 96 a note was changed in the melody, and for the whole orchestra; in No. 96 the last note of bar 7 in the Minuet should be G but it was corrupted to F sharp, necessitating changing almost all the subsidiary parts as well; while in No. 96, the last note of bar 3 (and bar 31) read G sharp (fl., ob.I, v.I) and E sharp (ob. II, v.II) instead of the G and E natural that Haydn wrote.

Some of these changes had arisen because of the faulty printing of the older editions: when Artaria had, in No. 96/II, bar 72, a B natural in the bassoon and a B flat in the second violin, a later editor realized that one of the two readings was wrong and he mistakenly opted for the B natural, creating an augmented chord that Haydn never wrote. But the widespread rewriting of the trumpet and timpani, as well as the bassoon parts of Nos. 95 and 96, the flute parts of No. 96, and so on – all this was the result of quite another concept.

Mozart's late symphonies did not start circulating throughout Europe until the last five years of the eighteenth century, and they reached most of the great capitals together with Haydn's late symphonies, to be followed very quickly by Beethoven's first two symphonies (which were well known all over the Continent by 1805) and then by the *Eroica*. As Beethoven's symphonic *oeuvre* gradually dominated the musical world, the editors of the German publishing houses deliberately attempted to bring Haydn's orchestration of Nos. 96 and 98 into line with the more conventional sound of his illustrious friend Mozart and erstwhile pupil Beethoven. The high trumpets of Haydn were radically different from Mozart's much lower trumpet writing, and different again from Beethoven's, who wrote loudly for the trumpet but not in such a high *tessitura* as Haydn. Similarly the timpani parts that Haydn wrote were altered to sound tamer and less prominent. It was a process to make Haydn sound more like Mozart (in particular) and also more like the orchestration fashionable in 1815. Nos. 96 and 98 are not the only cases: an even more sensational recasting of the trumpets and timpani took place in Symphony No. 48, where some editor grafted on to Haydn's lean orchestral fabric a set of trumpet and drum parts in the late Mozartean manner. Naturally Haydn's orchestral personality was strong enough to survive these intrusions, but in the process that personality was, obviously, altered. It was the same kind of repainting that Giotto's frescoes in Santa Croce in Florence suffered at the hands of *ottocento* restorers: it was well meant, no doubt, but it did Giotto no good and created a totally false overall impression. It did similar harm to Haydn. Indeed, it is hard for most conductors nowadays to return to the robust orchestration, with piercingly high trumpets, and to the much sharper dynamic marks (many of the *ff* and *fz* were removed by the editors) of Haydn's own scores. The fact that Haydn's own orchestration is so much better than those of the hacks seems to make little difference. One would have thought that the original orchestration of No. 96's slow movement would have seemed, even at first glance and to a person only faintly musical, vastly more effective: here the editors *removed* the trumpet and timpani parts entirely (adding them, to make up for it, to the introduction of the first movement, where Haydn had left them silent). Yet it was not until 1960 that a recording of the original version was undertaken, and that as part of a subscription series that never reached the broad public at all (Max Goberman conducting the Vienna State Opera Orchestra for the Library of Recorded Masterpieces, New York). This warped view of Haydn's late style was drastically confirmed by another famous work, the *Nelson Mass* (1798), which existed only in a Bowdlerized version first issued by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1803 and mindlessly reprinted ever since 1963 (first *Urfassung* version published by Schott & Co. together with Edition Eulenburg): here too, the high trumpets were cruelly mutilated and the whole score reorchestrated in a manner calculated to remove the acid bite and lean sound of the original.

It was thus obvious that many famous conductors grew up with a view of Haydn as warped as the scores they persisted in using. The late Sir Thomas Beecham, who steadfastly refused to acknowledge that all was not right with Haydn's Salomon Symphonies, was one of those many misguided conductors whose aural view of Haydn – that is to say, the one they transmitted, often with lavish affection and great sophistication, to the general public – was at radical variance with what the original scores contained. His refusal to conduct from these original scores was by no means obstinacy; to have done so would have been totally to destroy the image of Haydn with which he was brought up, in the old "accepted" versions of Breitkopf, Peters *(etc., ad nauseam)*.

The effects of these *Urtext* scores have not yet been fully felt. The first movements of Haydn's symphonies are often taken at far too quick a pace nowadays; and the same objection was raised again and again by the London correspondent of the *Harmonicon* in the 1820s and early 1830s. But the bad texts were and are partly responsible for this faulty speeding. If we observe what Haydn wrote at the beginning of the *Vivace assai* in No. 94/I, a too quick tempo is out of the question:



The "hairpin" marks of the first violin will be unplayable if the movement is taken at the tempo used by Arturo Toscanini at the end of his life and in fact the hairpin was not on Toscanini's score and was thus ignored. The usual editions vary between nothing and the significant

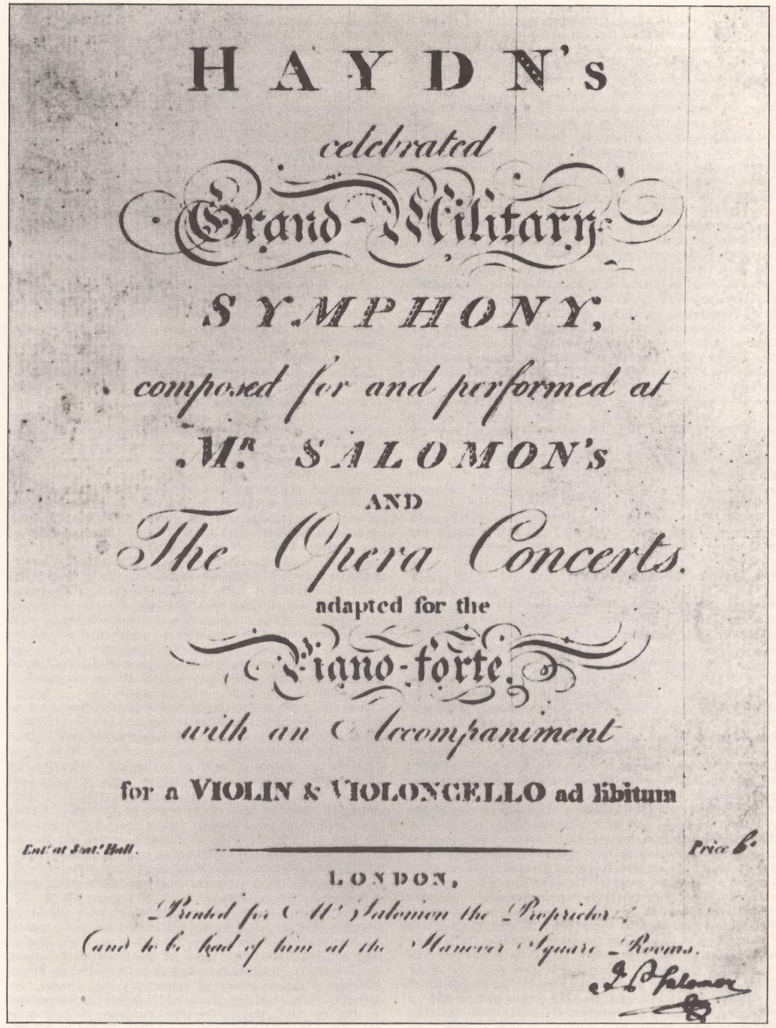
which of course would allow for a much quicker *tempo;* there are also other variations in the old editions, but they all conspire to falsify this deliberately time-restricting "hairpin". It is this kind of nineteenth-century tradition which has coloured most musicians', and the public's, idea of Haydn's style. The ramifications of these false texts have indeed gone far beyond their wrong notes, wrong dynamic marks, wrong phrasing and wrong orchestration – though the sum total of those is awesome enough; they have contributed to create a picture of Haydn with the crooked made straight and the rough places plain.

Their Position in Haydn's Oeuvre *and in Music History*

We have seen in the course of this recording project that the London period of Haydn's career was distinguished by a large number of masterpieces in all *genres,* ranging from opera to cantata *(scena),* from choral works to song, from piano trio to solo keyboard works, from flute trio to string quartet and from sinfonia concertante to symphony. Yet despite the high level of the other works, it is, when the final balance is made, the London Symphonies which have remained the favourites of the public and which seem to most people to contain the essence of Haydn's personality. In fact, it was almost exclusively these symphonies, of all Haydn's vast output, that remained alive in many countries. In German-speaking lands, the late oratorios were always deeply loved, and in Catholic Austria and Bavaria, the masses were played on Sunday after Sunday and often proved to be the only contact that the poorer classes of those parts of German-speaking Europe had with Haydn's music. In Anglo-Saxon countries, however, the public has always been deeply suspicious of Haydn's (and Mozart's) church music: we can trace the early disapproval even in the pages of the *Harmonicon* (published between 1823 and 1833), whose reviewers regarded Haydn, otherwise, with the greatest veneration. This same disapproval extended to the *Creation* and *Seasons* as well, to the extent that the oratorio *The Seasons* was never given in England at all in its entrety until many years after Haydn's death.

The situation was not the same during Haydn's lifetime, or at least not to the same degree. Although Haydn's religious music (until the arrival of the *Creation*) was almost totally unknown in England in the eighteenth century, much of Haydn's secular vocal music was known and appreciated there. Especialy the two sets of English Canzonettas were widely sung for many years. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Haydn's masses were enormously popular and created whole schools of local composers who imitated, often with great success, their illustrious models. It was the *Nelson Mass* rather than the London Symphonies that exerted the most profound influence on Bruckner's formative years, and the Upper Austrian composer's Mass in D minor would not have existed in its present form without the *Nelson Mass.* The chamber music of Haydn, too, was also widely played in the years before and after 1800. It is true that the string quartet, and even more the late piano trio, were never designed for the broad public but for connoisseurs; yet there were, obviously, many more such connoisseurs in 1800 than there were in 1900 or in 1970. Not only Haydn's string quartets were widely reprinted all over Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but also those of his followers such as Gyrowetz and Pleyel, whose chamber music enjoyed a vast public on an international scale. Even the Haydn piano trios were reprinted and, obviously, sold all over Europe.

Haydn introduced his London Symphonies to Vienna as soon as he returned, the first time in 1792, the last and final time in 1795. But somehow, except for the "Beliebte Symphonie mit dem Paukenschlag" and one or two others, the London Symphonies never really caught the public's imagination in Vienna to the extent they had done so in England and were to do so elsewhere, particularly in France and Germany. Conversely, the *Creation* and (to a slightly lesser extent) *Seasons* were profoundly appreciated and highly successful in Vienna, becoming the basis of a whole new choral tradition there and in the provinces of the Empire. Vienna was in some respects very wedded to the voice in general and to German-speaking vocal productions in particular. The only successes at a really popular level which Mozart ever enjoyed in his lifetime in Vienna were *Entführung* and *Zauberflöte;* by "popular level" we mean in particular the lower classes of the musical population. The aristocracy may have (once) flocked to *Le nozze di Figaro* (though it afterwards much preferred *Una cosa rara* and *Il matrimonio segreto*) and to Mozart's subscription concerts in the Mehlgrube (though later Mozart could not raise more than one name, van Swieten's); but it was the German operas, and especially the *Magic Flute* in its off-*Hoftheater* production, that appealed to a whole new group of the Viennese populace who had probably remained in almost total ignorance of Mozart's other, and especially instrumental, productions. This situation was also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Symphony No. 94 in C, "Surprise" The title page of an arrangement by J.P.Salomon for piano trio. His autograph signature is seen in the bottom right-hand corner. From the collection of H.C.Robbins-Landon, Vienna.

reflected in Haydn's late, German-speaking choral music. It dominated a geographical segment of Europe where Bach was still unknown and Handel hardly played except through the efforts of a van Swieten. When the *Creation* had to match its force with that of the Bach Passions and B minor Mass, as well as Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, it was inevitable that some of the *Creation's* initially explosive popularity must abate. But while the progress of Haydn's late oratorios might in some countries be compared to a rocket which explodes into light only soon to disappear, the London Symphonies were tougher; and if their initial launching was often, as in Vienna, perhaps less dramatic than had been the case in England, they managed to survive better than almost any other group of Haydn's works.

It is true that the London Symphonies took a long time to penetrate the Italian peninsula. This was partly because all northern music was regarded in Italy with great scepticism, and partly because the Italians were now technically so far behind the rest of Europe that they could hardly play Haydn's late symphonies at all. They were soon to find the *Creation* full of technical difficulties and they could, shortly after Haydn's death, hardly manage *Don Giovanni* at all when it was attempted at the Scala. Haydn's symphonies arrived in Italy first through the Austrian governors of such cities as Milan and Florence (later Modena and Venice, too). We know that Rossini studied assiduously Haydn's symphonies, and one of the surprising contents of Verdi's library at Sant'Agata near Busseto is his well-thumbed collection of Haydn's symphonies in MS. parts. But all this happened after Haydn's death, so that it is almost true to say that the *Creation* was cultivated in Italy before the symphonies (which, Dies assures us, were as good as unknown at Rome in 1794 and not at all appreciated when heard). On the other hand, Spain had always had a long tradition of Haydn's music and had boasted a series of direct connections between members of the great Spanish noble houses and the composer himself, so that his symphonies were known and appreciated there long before they entered – if they ever entered more than very superficially – the culture of the Iberian peninsula.

Part of the effect of Haydn's symphonies lay in their vast number; that is to say, the effect was cumulative. Some composers strike with a single work, even a single symphony (César Franck); but in Haydn's time, a composer's reputation usually depended on a large number of compositions, especially if they were instrumental works. It is now well known that Haydn's symphonic production, once thought to be uniquely vast, is matched by that of his contemporaries such as Dittersdorf, Vanhal and Ordoñez; and even Mozart's symphonic *oeuvre*, considering that he died at thirty-five, is very extensive. But Dittersdorf and Vanhal had, by 1795, become old-fashioned composers, whose works were almost all forgotten (Dittersdorf's operas were an exception: they were still given in German-speaking countries), while Ordoñez and his contemporaries (Leopold Hofmann, Wagenseil, Gassmann, etc.) were in 1795 hardly names except to church musicians in the Austrian provinces and lexicographers such as Gerber or Burney. Haydn's symphonies, on the other hand, had not only survived but except for the very early works were played constantly all over Europe. Thus the arrival of these London productions, preceded by some ninety genuine (and an equal number of spurious) symphonies, seemed to musicians to represent the crowning efforts of Haydn's symphonic muse. We mention the spurious symphonies because, especially in France where publishers had for years foisted on the public a large number of such unauthentic pieces, the public and even the trained musician obviously found great difficulty in deciding which of these many works were by Haydn and which by his pupils and followers. In 1788 Sieber had printed (as Haydn) a symphony by Adalbert Gyrowetz (I:G 3) which Gyrowetz, when he arrived in Paris a year later, claimed as his own, though the Parisian musicians were at first highly sceptical. Great is our astonishment, however, to find a London pupil of Haydn's, the composer Thomas Haigh arranging this Symphony about 1795 or 1796 ("A Grand Symphony of Dr. Haydn's") for pianoforte and having it published about 1797 (on paper, however, with a watermark date 1795) by Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow in England, immediately to be reprinted in the Summer of 1797 by André of Offenbach ("Grande Sinfonie pour Piano Forté à deux mains arrangée by Haigh: Etrennes pour le Dames Livre 38"). If not even a talented pupil of Haydn's could tell the difference between Gyrowetz and Haydn, imagine the confusion among French and German musicians, who knew Haydn's music only at second hand, through local prints and MS. copies of uncertain parentage.

In this respect, therefore, the London Symphonies not only represented the *non plus ultra* of Haydn's symphonic style, but they were also indubitably genuine works. Publishers, perhaps only accidentally but perhaps knowingly (they having been among the principal sinners in marketing spurious Haydn) often described the London Symphonies as (to take a typical English early edition) "Celebrated Overture Composed for and Performed at Mr. Salomon's Concert" or (to take a typical André early edition) "Grand Sinfonie pour plusieurs instrumens, composée par Joseph Haydn, Docteur en Musique, Oeuvre 98me. Liv. I. (Cette Sinfonie a été éxécutée pour la première fois au Grand Concert, dit de Salomon, à Londres sous la direction de L'auteur) . . ." [= Symphony 104].

Some of Haydn's earlier symphonies had reached the intellectual, orchestral and virtuoso level of the London compositions, *e.g.* Nos. 82, 86, 88 and 92 of the works for Comte d'Ogny and the Parisian concerts; but on the whole, the scintillating brilliance of the Salomon Symphonies had, with the exceptions noted (and perhaps one or two others) remained unapproached in the composer's previous efforts. A part of the increased brilliance is no doubt the result of the stimulation by audience and orchestra in London, but as an intellectual *tour-de-force* the "Oxford" Symphony (1789) remained unsurpassed. In the minds, at least, of English audiences, the "Oxford" was automatically placed among the ranks of the Salomon Symphonies, since it was probably the first work Haydn introduced in the 1791 season of Salomon's concerts and since, in any case, it had been the work played to celebrate Haydn's receiving the doctoral degree at Oxford in July 1791. Once again, it is the very number of London Symphonies, twelve masterpieces, that secured for all time Haydn's reputation as a symphonic composer. If we add the "Oxford", which British audiences certainly did, to the number, we have thirteen works which immediately entered the repertoire and never really left it, except occasionally, since then.

In his earlier years, Haydn was naturally susceptible to various outside stylistic influences, and we know that he heard and studied a great deal of contemporary music in his formative years. It is indeed possible to trace a number of influences on Haydn's instrumental style up till the middle 1760s; later, he became profoundly affected by Italian comic opera, and his operatic works, including all the holograph additions to those works by other composers performed at Eszterháza Castle, naturally reflect this influence. Italian *opera buffa* soon cast its long shadow not only on Haydn's operas but on his instrumental works as well. The opening of Symphony No. 61 (1776) is unthinkable without the *opera buffa* style, and it is perhaps significant that the work's date coincides exactly with a profound change at Eszterháza, whereby from 1776 to 1790 Prince Nicolaus maintained a regular operatic season in Hungary. For a time, Haydn's whole thinking, and most of his best thoughts, went into opera productions of one kind or another. But from 1784, when he composed his last opera for Eszterháza, to 1791, the whole operatic routine for Prince Nicolaus began to sour the composer's life, making him bitterly intolerant of the operas by his Italian contemporaries on the one hand, and on the other increasing his longing to leave the not-so-splendid isolation of Hungary and to concentrate on writing music nearer his heart. Thus the break in 1790, occasioned by Prince Nicolaus's death, was a real release from his position which had, by accident and circumstances, become that of an operatic *Capellmeister*.

A great deal has been written about the influence of Haydn on Mozart and *vice versa*. If there had been any principal influence on Haydn from 1781 to 1791 (for before that he can hardly have known any significant works by Mozart), it must have been that of Mozart's music, which we know Haydn loved and admired more, perhaps, than that by any other composer. Yet if we examine Haydn's music, even his operas, from 1781 to 1790, impartially and knowing – this is an essential point – all his major works of the period, it would be a bold man who would assert that this was the period in the composer's life when his music was most profoundly influenced by that of his younger contemporary. If anything, Haydn's reaction to Mozart's music was partly negative: that is, the older composer ceased writing operas after 1784, except for *L'anima del filosofo*, a commissioned work, and an *opera seria* at that; he never wrote a string quintet; and he stopped writing piano concertos after about 1782 (the D major Concerto was published in 1784 but is probably somewhat earlier). We shall see Beethoven adopting a similarly negative, "withdrawing" attitude in the case of his erstwhile teacher – and to a certain extent *vice versa*. Haydn's style was, by 1781, firmly established and the works he composed in the ensuing decade all show a steady, unwavering line which comes almost exclusively from his own already huge *oeuvre*. In fact it is astonishing what Haydn did not take from Mozart. We know that the elder man heard *Le nozze di Figaro* (letter to Marianna von Genzinger of 9 February 1790) and intended to stage it at Eszterháza in 1790, getting as far as the initial performances; we know that he heard *Don Giovanni* because of his famous defence of the work quoted in Niemetschek's biography (the 1798 edition was dedicated to Haydn and a second edition appeared ten years later); we know that he was at the rehearsals of *Così fan tutte* in December 1789 and January 1790 (Mozart's letters to Puchberg, Nos. 1113 and 1115 in the Deutsch-Bauer edition; Anderson II, 934 *f.*); and we know that he participated in performances of all the major string quintets (Abbé Stadler to the Novellos, *A Mozart Pilgrimage*, London 1954, pp. 170 *ff.*) The MS. parts of the last three Mozart Symphonies, as well as the great C major *Missa* K. 337 and the "Coronation" Mass K. 317 in the Esterházy Archives (not to speak of much other church music, including a skilful arrangement of *Thamas* choruses as Motets) also show a certain knowledge of Mozart's music apart from the operas and quintets; and of course we know that he heard the string Quartets Mozart dedicated to him. We mention all this because it is difficult to assess exactly how much of Mozart's music was known to Haydn before he left for England. We cannot prove that he ever heard a Mozart piano concerto, though it is very likely, and we do know that Haydn much appreciated Mozart's piano playing. Apart from the piano concerto, we can see that Haydn knew a limited, but characteristic, selection of Mozart's music; and we have been deliberately over-cautious, for Mozart must have shown the older man much that was unpublished and had only been played once or twice. That the two exchanged such unpublished, or one might say "unavailable" music, is known from the evidence of Mozart's autograph copy of a passage from Haydn's *Armida* (1784); the autograph of the Mozart copy is in the University Library, Bonn. Yet there is, in Haydn's music of the 1780s, little tangible evidence of all this exposure, direct and indirect, to Mozart's style. Altogether, the two composers' influence on each other has been greatly over-analyzed: every five-bar phrase in Mozart must be attributed to Haydn and every chromatic passing-note in Haydn laid to Mozart. The influence of Haydn on Mozart is mostly formal. As Mozart often said, he learned how to write quartets from Haydn, and the famous letter of dedication in the Opus X "Haydn" Quartets sums up Mozart's debt. From that point on, however, Mozart's enlarged harmonic spectrum; his peculiarly individual method of orchestration (whether his martial C major density or his opaque writing in, for example, E flat or G minor); his philosophical attitude, if we may call it that, about operatic characterization; and the alarming undertones of much of his music – all these are things that hardly figure in Haydn's style at all, and certainly not in the 1780s. Haydn not only remains aloof from all these Mozartean trends, but he continues along the paths which he, perhaps the eighteenth-century's greatest innovator, had himself so carefully laid out. When Haydn became sixty in London (March 1792), Mozart was dead, and his international influence yet to come. Haydn, on the other hand, was distilling the essence of his own wiry style. We notice an increasing trend towards third-related keys, enharmonic key-relationships, daring tonal exploitation of the development section and an ever more complex motive relationship within a movement – in short, towards a purer intellectual approach. If anything, Haydn draws further away from the sensuous Mozartean sound. We should not be led astray by the outward brilliance of Haydn's late orchestration, for it conceals an increasingly austere approach to music. Haydn stopped writing symphonies in 1795 because he thought he had said all he could in the form: there is something forbiddingly final about "The twelfth I have composed in England" on the title page of No. 104. Yet he went on with string quartets, where his ideas could be presented with, as it were, the bare minimum in instrumental clothing. There is a cerebral purity, a dry quality, about some movements of the Opus 76 Quartets which would be ill-suited in a symphony. On the other hand, Haydn had new and large-scale ideas which, he considered, would be better fitted to oratorio and mass than to the symphony. It never seems to have occurred to him to expand the symphonic form beyond its then conventional length of about half-an-hour; he preferred to gather his laurels with more than one hundred symphonies and to proceed to different forms involving human voices. All this has very little indeed to do with Mozart. If anything, Mozartean influence is more to be felt – this is the strongest word one would wish to use – in the *post*-1795 works than before. Even then, it is nearly minimal.

Haydn's London Symphonies created a fourth "wave" of imitations. In his earlier works, we can trace three distinct schools of *seguaci*. The first grew up round Haydn's pithy and highly experimental works of the 1760s; he found admirers and imitators among the many composers living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. *Kleinmeister* in the provincial monasteries and princely houses wrote symphonies *à la* Haydn which were, often as not, copied by Austrian scribes and sold abroad as Haydn, and printed as such in Paris; but also the better-known composers, such as Dittersdorf, Ordonez and Leopold Hofmann were not uninfluenced by Haydn; and his brother Michael certainly started symphonic life in Grosswardein (now Oradea Mare in Roumania) in 1760 copying the church-sonata productions of his brother's (such as Symphonies 5 or 11). Then, during the Romantic Crisis of the late 1760s, Haydn's new symphonies in the minor keys attracted wide attention: one of their most talented imitators was J. B. Vanhal, who occasionally succeeded in creating works almost the equal of the originals; the other was the young Mozart, who in the Symphony K. 183 produced an interesting copy of a Haydn *Sturm und Drang* symphony. When Haydn had perfected his first "popular" style in the early 1780s, he found that certain movements, particularly slow movements such as the *Andante* from Symphony No. 53 and "La Roxelane" from No. 63 of the same name, became international best-sellers. This deliberately *volkstümlich* style, with its bright and easily remembered melodies, but also its skilful motivic development and sparse but effective orchestration, created the most lasting of all the schools hitherto mentioned. Haydn's pupil Ignaz Pleyel became one of the most successful purveyors of this popular style, and so did Adalbert Gyrowetz, who (as he himself tells us in his autobiography) took Haydn for a model and almost succeeded in reaching the popularity of the original. Hoffmeister was another Viennese composer who took over many attributes of this 1780-style from Haydn; and even Mozart, particularly in his first Viennese works of the early 1780s, often modelled a Finale directly on Haydn's high-spirited music: the Finale of the piano Concerto in D, K. 451 is almost a Haydn copy, and the tune of the newly composed Finale (K. 382) to the early (K. 175) piano Concerto is also cast in the popular vein of Haydn's rondos.

The fourth series of Haydn's symphonic imitators must not be regarded as a mere continuation of the third. Naturally Gyrowetz, to choose one example, was influenced by the London Symphonies, and he witnessed the first two seasons there in London as one of the contributors to Salomon's concerts; but Gyrowetz began life by studying the Haydn symphonies of the late 1770s and early 1780s; and his works of the 1790s, though modified by what he heard in London in 1791 and 1792, were basically continuations of a style formed on Haydn's of a decade earlier. The same is true of Pleyel. In the last years of the eighteenth century, there arose a school of young composers who modelled their symphonies on the latest products of Haydn's style, and specifically on the London Symphonies. In Germany, where Haydn's latest symphonic works were much admired by public and *cognoscenti* alike, a whole series of pseudo-Salomon-Symphonies came into being. Most of these have long since been forgotten, but at least one suddenly acquired a new and unexpected lease of life.

When Haydn sent, at the end of 1792 or early in 1793, four of his London Symphonies to the Court of Prince Krafft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein, one of the cellists in the Wallerstein band was a talented young composer named Friedrich Witt, who had been born in 1771 and engaged at Wallerstein on 21 January 1790. He studied composition with Rosetti, the Wallerstein *Capellmeister*. Witt fashioned his first symphonic efforts directly on Haydn's London Symphonies, and one of these early Witt works is a Symphony in C of which the principal model was Symphony No. 97 by Haydn, though there are also traces of Symphony No. 93 – both works that had been sent by their composer to Wallerstein Castle. Witt wrote other symphonies, all of which show strong leanings towards the London series, and eight such works were published by André beginning in 1804. As early as 1794 Witt was performing his own symphonies at Potsdam, so we may assume that he began writing them in 1793 at the latest. The Symphony in C major was acquired along with another work in D major by Göttweig Monastery in 1825. It was also acquired by a musical society in Jena, and thereby hangs the tale.

This society at Jena, the Akademisches Konzert, apparently purchased several Witt symphonies, but in the course of the years, the title page of the C major became separated from the parts and someone in the nineteenth century thought it was composed by Beethoven. On the (then anonymous) parts, someone added "Par Louis van Beethoven" to the second violin part and "Symphonie von Bethoven [sic]" on the cello. In 1909, the late Professor Fritz Stein "discovered" the work, which he entitled "Jena Symphonie" and published under Beethoven's name. It was not until 1957 that Witt's authorship could be definitely established.[1] Because of the attribution to Beethoven, a miniature score of the Witt Symphony is available and may be studied as an interesting and by no means untalented copy of the Salomon Symphony style. Apart from this Witt copy, there are many others by English, French and Austrian *Kleinmeister* which, like the Witt Symphony in C, reproduce not only the thematic material but even the modulations and the orchestration. These are reproductions. It is more profitable to turn to the *Grossmeister* and their assimilations. Of these the greatest are, as might be expected, Beethoven's first two Symphonies, first performed in 1800 and 1803, respectively. For Beethoven, though for many years he considered Mozart the greatest composer, did not adopt his style except in works deliberately modelled on Mozartean originals, *e.g.* the piano Quintet Op. 16 and the first three piano Concertos. Otherwise Beethoven's orchestral style is taken almost entirely from Haydn: this should be apparent to anyone who studies Haydn's and Beethoven's symphonies and then compares Schubert's Symphony No. 5 with its Mozartean models. (There were also many Mozartean followers among the *Kleinmeister*, such as Anton Eberl or the anonymous Frenchman who wrote the interesting Symphony attributed to Mozart as K. 311a.) Beethoven must have felt that Mozart's style, except perhaps in his piano writing, was inimitable and represented to a certain extent a *cul-de-sac*; imitating Mozart, one could only write pure (or as it might be adulterated) Mozart, whereas with Haydn – as he himself had shown – the symphonic style was capable of endless development, variation and metamorphosis. One of the curiosities of Haydn's fifty years of composing is the way in which his style constantly changes, adapting itself like a chameleon but with a resilient self-sufficiency. When the definitive study of the second half of the eighteenth century's musical life has been made, it will be realized how little Hadyn owes to any outside influence after the 1770s and how much almost every composer living from 1770 to 1810 owes to Haydn. His style was nourishing and capable of endless transformation.

In the first decade or two of the nineteenth century, Haydn's late symphonies were overplayed. They were almost, but not quite, played to death. The study of Haydn's gradual decline in popularity must occupy the final chapter of any serious and objective biography but cannot concern us here except marginally. The decrease in his popularity may be traced in part to other causes – to a fundamental change in taste and to the gradual misunderstanding of his musical language. Adagios that seemed immensely sad and full of wisdom to men in 1795 sounded attractive but slightly superficial, *nichtssagend*, to the Romantic generation of 1825. One of the reasons for this trend away from Haydn was the direct result of overplaying his London Symphonies. They may have been the most influential symphonic music written in the late eighteenth century, but by overexposure to them, the public's ear became slowly blunted to their beauties. In the music journals of Europe published after the Vienna Congress of 1815, one notices an increasing irritation with these Haydn symphonies. No one disputed their importance, but after a time their constant repetition seemed due more to the slothfulness and inertia of orchestral leaders and managers than to the prevailing taste of the audience. Yet the public was still fascinated by a great unknown Haydn composition. In 1838, Felix Mendelssohn gave a series of so-called "historic" concerts at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, and on 22 February he included several works by Haydn (not, one notes, London Symphonies . . .): the "Farewell" Symphony, parts of the *Creation* and piano Trio No. 43 in C, which Haydn had composed shortly after his final return to Austria. Felix writes to his sister Rebecka on 24 February 1838 *inter alia*: ". . . [The Finale of Symphony No. 45] is a curiously melancholy little piece. Beforehand we played the Haydn C major Trio, and people were quite bowled over [*des Todes verwunderten*] that something so beautiful could exist, and yet it was printed long ago by Breitkopf & Härtel [in the *Oeuvres Completes*] . . .".[2]

We are in a better position as regards Haydn's Salomon Symphonies. The "Surprise", "Clock", "Drum Roll" and "London" may be still overplayed, but not so the other works. A whole new generation of relatively unprejudiced listeners is there to rediscover their radiant freshness, and in the versions written by the composer rather than some well-meaning hack at a German publishing office. It is time to wipe the slate: to reconsider their intrinsic importance, to recapture their optimism and message of faith. For they are one of the great legacies of eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

[1] See our article "The 'Jena' Symphony" in: *Music Review* 1957, reprinted in our *Essays on the Viennese Classical Style*, London 1970. The relevant literature may be found in that article. The miniature score of the "Jena" Symphony is published by Breitkopf & Hartel.

[2] Susanna Grossmann-Vendrey: *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Musik der Vergangenheit*, Regensburg 1969, p. 161.

Symphony No. 96 in D (1791)

A friend of Haydn's, Mrs. Papendies informs us on an interesting detail concerning Haydn's arrival in London. "Haydn . . . told Salomon that he should stay the summer in England, and that as he heard there were to be twelve concerts and two benefits during the season there would be ample time for him to compose his first symphonies after he had the opportunity of studying the taste of the English. He was determined that his first production should both amuse and please the musical public and rivet him in their favour. "We know that Haydn considered that Symphony No. 91 needed to be altered to bring it into line with the "English taste", but apart from adding trumpets and drums it is difficult to imagine what needed to be changed in the older (1788) work. And if we now proceed to what is probably Haydn's first English Symphony, it is equally difficult to see what makes this delicately orchestrated work different, let us say, from the "Oxford" with which he apparently introduced himself to the public at the Hanover Square Rooms. Perhaps in Mrs. Papendiek's quotation Haydn was simply making excuses in order to gain more time.

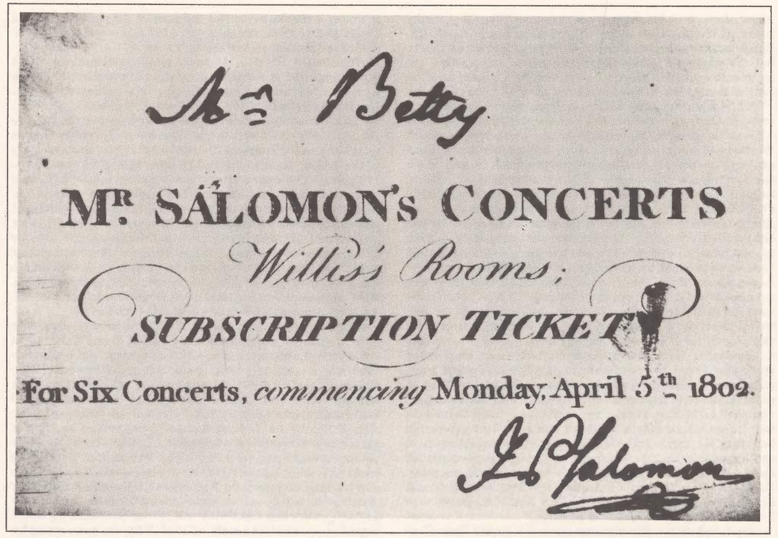
All the London Symphonies except for No. 95 open with a slow introduction, but this is not really a "new" device for England, since it was used in the previous Paris works with considerable frequency (Nos. 84, 85, 86, 88, 90 and 92). In No. 96 we may note that Haydn withholds the trumpets and drums until the first *tutti* of the *Allegro*, so that eighteenth-century listeners were not sure, until bar 25, whether the Symphony was one with trumpets and timpani or not. In bar 3 we note Haydn's very personal use of the turn (with three auxiliary notes), a Berenson "fingerprint". The turn has two distinguishing features: (1) it is accompanied by a phrase progressing a third upwards and (2) it occurs in slow tempo. This is not the only use that Haydn has for a turn, but it is one of his characteristic ones, and we shall encounter another particularly poignant example of it in bars 66-74 of the "Incarnatus" of the *Missa in tempore belli* (1796).

Mrs. Papendiek, in her report on the first Haydn-Salomon concert, specifically mentions Haydn's *obbligato* use of the instruments. One does not know to which symphony she refers, but in No. 96 the wind instruments are used with great freedom and the whole score is marked by orchestral transparency which is apparent even in the introduction. Here we modulate into D minor and the oboe, and only the oboe, has a long *crescendo* leading to a *f*; and again the solo oboe has a kind of cadenza leading to a pause and the *Allegro*.

It will be observed that Haydn now takes great care to bind the slow introduction to the rest of the movement. In most cases this is done thematically, and we shall see a particularly subtle example in No. 103. Here in No. 96 Haydn has employed an equally interesting method, for the prominence of the solo oboe part in the opening *Adagio* looks forward to its brilliant solo in the Trio. We may also note that the solo oboe's reversed pedal point (the *crescendo* referred to above) is matched by a real pedal point in the horns shortly afterwards (bars 12-15). The same procedure may be observed in the *Menuetto* (horns' pedal point, bars 5-8, oboe's reverse pedal point, bars (14-16), where the instruments' order is reversed but, interestingly, the note values or length of pedal point are almost exactly the same, and in three-four time, too.

The *Allegro* begins with its own accompaniment. Apropos of this curious procedure, we have a note by no less a man than Giovanni Simone Mayr, the once celebrated operatic composer whose treatise on Haydn, though most interesting, is hardly known at all.[3] Mayr writes "Non hanno questi *Allegri* tavolta neppure un *tema*, e sembrano di cominciare in mezzo; a nulladimeno trovasi in essi ad onta di tutta la leggerezza una fluidità, un ordine, che annunziano sempre la mano maestra."

[3] *La Creazione del Mondo . . . da eseguirsi nel nuovo Teatro della Società nell'occasione della fondazione del Pio Instituto Musicale. Con una prefazione e notizie storiche della vita e delle opera del Compositore Estese Da G. S. M. Bergamo, Dalla Tipografie Sonzogni 1809*, p. 11. A copy in the writer's possession; another in the library of the Biblioteca di S. Cecilia, Rome.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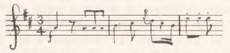
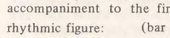
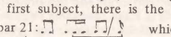
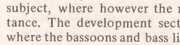
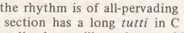
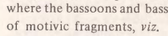
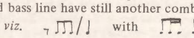
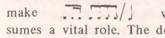
The *Allegro* of No. 96 certainly begins "in mezzo", and it is hard to believe what importance the "leading note"-figure of the first violin will have: (here repeated notes A[1]). Whole sections of the first movement are cemented together by this little motif. In the first *tutti*, which separates the double announcement of the main subject, the rhythm appears in the timpani (bars 27*f.*), but in the second *tutti* it becomes more prominent and is repeated in each bar by the cellos and basses. Gradually it begins to pervade everything, even the transition to the dominant (bars 50, 53-56) and the second subject itself:



The "fragmented" first subject is further dissected. The end of its first phrase (bar 4 of the subject) is three repeated notes we find the identical notes attached to the second subject (see the musical example). Finally, in the accompaniment to the first subject, there is the following rhythmic figure:  (bar 21:  which Haydn soon turns into The movement is an almost classic example of motivic economy based on a themeless first subject, where however the rhythm is of all-pervading importance. The development section has a long *tutti* in C major, where the bassoons and bass line have still another combination of motivic fragments, *viz.*  with  to make  which combined rhythm now assumes a vital role. The development seems to end with the large *tutti* beginning, as we say, in C major; it ends on a long sequence in the V of B minor and two whole bars of rests. (These rests have been the subject of much discussion, and Erich Leinsdorf recently announced publicly that he thought it necessary to remove one of the bars of rest!). There then follows an extremely comical *fausse reprise* in the subdominant. After the real recapitulation, there is a magnificent *tutti* which is far more intricate than the first one of the movement (which it purports to repeat): here we find a spectacular exchange of the  between horns and trumpets (which, we must recall, were situated way up at the apex of Haydn's pyramidal orchestra; the effect was not only aural but also visual), while the opening fragment of the main theme is played simultaneously. This splendid effect was one of those mutilated beyond recognition in the nineteenth-century adaptation. There is one final point, which occurs at the very end: a violent plunge, *fortissimo*, into D minor (the *ff* marking was a tradition of Haydn's London performances; it is contained only in the autograph and the Birchall print), with the whole orchestra participating. Even here, Haydn's preoccupation with fragments of the themes follows us, the timpani and bass line hammering out the  rhythm. Haydn directs not only the exposition to be repeated but also the second part, probably because the movement seems so short (though it is not: over 200 bars). This sense of brevity is brought about by the extreme concentration on short motivic fragments. It is curious to think that this Symphony and No. 95 must have arrived at Vienna just as Mozart lay dying.[4]) But the music of this exhilarating and bright D major Symphony is worlds away from the *Spatstil* of the *Zauberflote* and the *Requiem*. Nothing could be more dissimilar.

Giovanni Simone Mayr says of Haydn's slow movements: "Gli *Adagj [sic]* e gli *Andanti* hanno le forme più varie. Per lo più sono vasti, e mostrano una fisonomia di stile grande.

[4] Haydn sent them by mail on 17 November; they will have arrived in Vienna on 1 or 2 December. Haydn's trip to London in 1794 took from 19 January to 4 February 1794.

Richiedono però un'esecuzione brillante e vivace, non essendo della spezie sentimentale ed affettuosa, anzi respirando piuttosto uno spirito nazionale di gajezza e di umoristico, il quale non può restare lungo tempo d'un carattere serio e languente" *(op. cit., p. 11)*. Here we have the prototype of the late symphonic slow movement, "non essendo della spezie sentimentale ed affettuoso" but orchestrated enchantingly and with the same luminously "open" feeling that we noted about the first movement. Again we observe the *obbligato* use of the wind instruments, which accompany the repetition of the main subject (bars 5 *ff.*) Like the first *Allegro*, this *Andante* starts off as if it would have dropped the trumpets and timpani (which the later arranger actually did!); one is delightfully surprised to find them joining in the first *tutti*. After what is basically an a-b-a announcement of the first section, each entry of the main theme being decked out with new garlands from the wind section, we break off the main theme and enter a long passage in the minor. Based on a fragment of the main theme, this minor excursion is treated like a *fugato* and gathers great momentum as it proceeds. The introduction of a minor "middle" section (sometimes not exactly in the middle) is a feature that will occur in the slow movements of Nos. 93, 94, 95 97, 98, 100, 101 and 104 and thus may be considered typical of the London Symphonies. The repetition of the opening section is not fully written out in the autograph, and Haydn as he often does, uses the words "etc: come Sopra" to indicate to the copyist to repeat the exact notes of the opening (this "come Sopra" occurs at bar 51). Up to the end of this repetition the movement has proceeded as normally as Haydn's fertile invention ever allows anything to proceed "normally". We have had an A-B-A form of which, as we have seen, the A was subdivided into a-b-a. But what now occurs is unexpected and elevates the movement to being one of the most original and inspired of the Salomon series. A short variation on the final *a* section leads to an elaborate cadence and a six-four chord, just as if we were in a concerto rather than a symphony. At this point, one might call the rest of the movement a gigantic coda, or if one will, cadenza (bars 69 [with upbeat] – 89). The concerto-like atmosphere is astoundingly made more real by the introduction of two solo violin parts, just like the *concerto grosso* of a century earlier. In addition, the whole woodwind section is used like the *concertino* which thus consists, if one wishes to spell out matters, of two solo violins, solo flute, two solo oboes and bassoons; while the *ripieno* consists of strings and two horns. The cadenza even ends with a gigantic series of trills, entering one after the other in oboe I, flute I and bassoon I. The end of this movement also includes a highly Romantic modulation from G major to E flat through the augmented sixth pivot, a passage which, as we mentioned earlier, was stupidly "edited" in the nineteenth century so that the augmented chord was changed to a I^6 chord by flattening the B flat in violin II and bassoon II.

This extraordinary *cadenza-cum-coda* is a brilliantly original stroke of genius. We believe that here we may also have the first concrete example of Haydn's attempting to cultivate the "English taste". In his own previous *oeuvre*, especially in the works of the 1760s, we find several examples of this *concerto-grosso*-technique – and not only in the famous trilogy of 1761, *Le Matin, Le Midi* and *Le Soir*, but also in the organization of such a movement as the *Adagio* in Symphony No. 36 in E flat (*c.* 1761-5?), where there are two solo parts *(concertino)*, violin and violoncello, accompanied by a *ripieno* of strings. But such escapades had long since disappeared from Haydn's symphonies. Having arrived in London, Haydn will have taken note that here was a flourishing tradition of "Antient Concerts", where the *concerti grossi* of Corelli, Geminiani and, especially, Handel still held the affections of the conservative-minded and tradition-conscious British public. Is this *concerto grosso* episode in Symphony No. 96 not Haydn's charmingly expressed tribute to this great tradition, still kept alive in many London concerts! One is tempted to think so.

Haydn may have thought that he was writing "English" symphonies, and perhaps in the last part of the slow movement he had done so. In this irresistible and captivating *Menuetto*, however, he wrote a movement of which the roots, the rhythm and the expression are all purely Austrian. It was the great tradition of the Redoutensaal, which must have been as good as unknown in England except through such minuets of Haydn and his pupils as were known there. It is a symphonic minuet in the grand style, but with that indefinable Austrian "thing", the secret of which has persistently eluded non-Austrian composers for some two centuries. And if this so basically kinetic music is purely Austrian, what are we to say to the pure *Ländler* – what Haydn would have called "Contrydance" – of the Trio, for solo oboe and accompanied in strict "waltz rhythm" by the strings? It was a graceful and lovely tribute to the country of Haydn's birth.

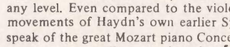
Haydn thought to ask Marianna von Genzinger to press upon Herr von Kees the fact that he "have a rehearsal [!] of both these symphonies [Nos. 96 and 95], because they are very delicate, particularly the last movement [of that] in D, for which I recommend the softest *piano* and a very quick tempo . . ." (letter of 17 November 1791). Haydn originally marked the *Finale* "Vivace" but later added "assai" to the tempo to ensure "a very quick tempo". Basically this whirlwind movement is one of the composer's characteristic rondo movements, but the various subsections are "developed" as in sonata form. The main group, or first A, is subdivided with repeat marks, *i.e.* see this same kind of division in the opening material of No. 97's *Finale*. The B section is a long section in the minor, the same kind of diversion that we have already seen in the slow movement and will see in subsequent final movements such as that to No. 101 ("The Clock"). The whole movement, in No. 96, is strictly monothematic and there is not even a hint of a second subject. C section introduces, once the A section of the theme has been announced, a kind of development where the theme is used contrapuntally with itself. There then occurs a kind of recapitulation of the main a-b-a section but without repeats, which leads to a pause and a new kind of *cadenza*, this time for the whole wind band. It is a presage of the long and intricate wind band soli which we shall encounter in an extended and famous passage in the first movement of No. 97 in C, and once again in the slow movement of No. 99 in E flat – a section that so inspired the players that the critic of the *Morning Chronicle* was moved to comment upon it. Like the opening movement, the *Finale* of No. 96 is marked by what appears to be a great overall brevity, but it is, as far as the actual count goes (239 bars), a long movement and Haydn has once again used extreme economy of thematic material to produce a sensation of concision.

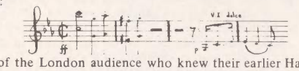
It was a highly auspicious beginning of a new career in a strange country.

Symphony No. 95 in C Minor (1791)

There are several ways in which to judge the popularity of the individual Salomon Symphonies, at least in London. One is the reaction in the daily newspapers, and we have seen in the *Chronicle* that some of the works were far more popular than the others, especially the "Surprise" and "Military". Symphony No. 104, and indeed the other works first played in the 1795 season, did not have time to become really popular by the time Haydn left England – No. 104 can only have been played a few times towards the end of the 1795 season. Another measure of the various works' popularity may be gleaned from a rather unexpected source: namely, Salomon's first editions for piano trio. These were first printed as a joint endeavour between Salomon and the publishers Corri & Dussek, and Salomon's address was his office at the Hanover Square Rooms. Naturally, some of the works far outsold the others, particularly the "Surprise" and "Military", the first two works to receive nicknames in England. Salomon later changed his address to 34, Clipstone Street. Thus it happened that when people had sets of all twelve works bound up, they often had individual works with different publishing addresses; the plates also started to wear thin, and one can see graphically how they wore out for the most popular works. In examining the bound volumes, one usually notices that No. 95 still remained in its first edition (which was, moreover, signed by Salomon). So did No. 96, which suggests that it cannot have been the popular work so often repeated after its first performance in March 1791; for the "Oxford" Symphony was not one of those arranged by Salomon for piano trio but had been issued, for popular "drawing-room" consumption, in an arrangement by Dussek for piano and violin in November 1791. No. 96's slow sales as shown by the evidence of the bound volumes is another hint, albeit negative, that the "Oxford" was the work which Haydn played in the opening Salomon concert of the 1791 season.

At any rate, No. 95 was one of the slowest sellers of the twelve in Salomon's piano trio edition, and this fact tells us that it cannot have been a very popular piece, at least compared to most of the other symphonies! It has never become a favourite, either, and many attempts to resuscitate it have been connected with the fact that being in C minor, it later basked in the reflected glory of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with which work, however, it could ill stand comparison on any level. Even compared to the violent emotion in the outer movements of Haydn's own earlier Symphony No. 52, not to speak of the great Mozart piano Concerto K. 491, No. 95 does not measure up. The very fact that it was the only work in a minor key among thirteen London productions (*i.e.* counting the *Concertante*) tells us a great deal about its initial lack of success. No doubt London audiences would have found the violence of a Mozart K. 550 way out of the ordinary, not to mention the D minor piano Concerto K. 466; but No. 95, which begins as if it were to be a huge and dramatic piece in C minor and then (except for the Minuet) turns out to be much tamer than expected, was also not the way to English hearts; it was, in short, an experiment that Haydn took great care never to repeat. Perhaps its lack of success is because it was something of an unsuccessful compromise.

The first movement is a slow *alla breve (Allegro moderato)*, the warning is because of the triplets and also such figures as  which would sound hurried if the barred C is taken too quickly. There is no slow introduction, also the only time this ever happens in a London symphony (though it occurs again in the *Concertante* which, being a concerto, is another kind of work entirely). The beginning is so impressive that no curtain-raising *adagio* was needed:



Those of the London audience who knew their earlier Haydn, and in particular the previous C minor Symphony No. 78, will have realized that these first five notes were designed for large-scale contrapuntal elaboration; and they were not disappointed. The motivic development of the first subject is the most striking thing about this movement. Even when modulating to the relative major, the first theme is used with itself contrapuntally, and of course it is still more expanded in the development. There is, in No. 95, a highly polished second subject, which introduces the triplets and then succumbs to them entirely: we are reminded of the same device in the "Rider" Quartet's first movement. In the development these two widely contrasting themes are placed side by side, but the result seems to be primarily to increase the rather jerky and unsettled feeling engendered by the bars of rest in the main theme and now part and parcel of the whole fabric. The retransition to the recapitulation provides a nice touch in that the first five notes of the main subject, having been used so frequently in the course of the movement, are now omitted. The music then modulates to C major and stays in that key till the end of the movement. The telescoping that we noticed with the main theme in the recapitulation is continued; the big bridge passage is dropped, and the first subject's *piano* part slides elegantly into the second subject and the tonic major at the same time. The second time round, Haydn provides a magical wash of colour by having a solo violin play one of the

counter-subjects (bars 139 *ff.*). There is a short coda in a splendid outburst of C major, to which the whole brass section and timpani contribute a slash of brilliance to a martial outburst in which only they are marked *ff* (bar 148), the others (except the triplets of the first violin) having *fz* (a strong accent). And yet there is something unsatisfactory about this movement as an aesthetic whole. Perhaps we are conditioned to expect greater things from a "Grand Symphony in C minor", and possibly we overreact to the tame qualities of the second subject and the rather windmill-tilting triplets which occupy so much of the movement (63 bars out of 165). One ends by being slightly confused as to the music's basic message.

There is no such confusion about the even tamer E flat *Andante cantabile* variations – Haydn called it "a little Andante from one of my new Symphonies" (CCLN 117) – which constitute the slow movement. The trumpets and drums are dropped, and the atmosphere is much more like an *andante* of ten years earlier. It is charming and beautifully constructed but nothing to compare either with the *Adagio* of the "Oxford" or the *Andante* of its chronological fellow No. 96. One interesting feature is the use of the solo violoncello in the second variation, lying wonderfully in the upper register (as do all Haydn's solo cello parts in that range) and once again – like the oboe in No. 96 – a presage of the famous solo in the Trio to come.

The gaunt and powerful *Menuet* lays claim to being the finest of all four movements. It has a real sense of unity which the Symphony as a whole may be thought to lack, and it seems to exploit the ferocious side of C minor in a way which makes us long for what Haydn could have done with such a Symphony if he had felt himself able to.

The Trio is a technically demanding cello solo, fulfilling the promise of the *Andante's* second variation; it is famous among cellists and they play it with delight. Perhaps it is not unkind to say that as a whole the Trio is more interesting to the player than to the audience. As a concept, this kind of solo is, like the *concerto grosso* in No. 96, a throw-back to a much earlier technique: to such concerto movements as Haydn's Symphonies No. 13/II (for solo cello) or No. 24/II (for solo flute). Such a solo is perhaps something of an anomaly in a work of this kind, which is *in toto* more massively symphonic than No. 96; perhaps that is why the oboe solo in No. 96's Trio succeeds, having been preceded and to be followed by pieces of music filled with *obbligato* woodwind writing.

The *Finale* of No. 96 is a *Vivace* in barred C, and like the Trio, we are now firmly in C major and remain in that key, except for the usual modulations, till the end of the work. Formally, this is Haydn's last orchestral attempt at a "fugued" movement in the manner of Mozart's "Jupiter". The fugal sections take the place of the normal bridge passage to the dominant, and instead of a second subject and development, the fugue continues until the recapitulation and also figures, though briefly, in the recapitulation. The material for all this contrapuntal virtuosity is the first five notes of the main subject, and Haydn makes an exhilarating and highly effective movement out of it. By this time we have forgotten that this is a C minor Symphony, of course, but the vivacious conclusion is perhaps better suited to Haydn's English mood than the kind of minor-major rondo that concluded the earlier C minor Symphony No. 78. Can this C major burst of triumph have been one of Beethoven's models for the conclusion of the Fifth Symphony?

Naturally, we hear the Finale of No. 95 with different ears than did Haydn's audience in 1791, and we do not mean, in our case, only the knowledge of Beethoven's Op. 67; we know, as the London public did not, that the inspiration for No. 95's Finale is the conclusion of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony. With its majestic tones ringing in our ears, it is difficult to hear Haydn's Finale with unprejudiced ears.

If Symphony No. 95 is generally considered the least successful of the London Symphonies, the fault is no doubt partly Haydn's for having produced a half-tame, half-grand C minor composition, but also ours, for being unable to hear it without the "heavy footsteps" of K. 491, K. 551 behind and Beethoven's Op. 67 in front – grossly unfair in the case of Beethoven, of course, but hardly to be changed any more.[5]

Symphony No. 93 in D (1791)

Haydn had now had half a year to observe conditions in London, and this new Symphony, with which he opened the 1792 season, may be considered the first result of his experience in the previous 1791 concerts. The introduction *(Adagio)* opens with a flamboyant *fortissimo* unison for the whole orchestra which is so devastatingly effective that one wonders that there is no precedent for it in any of Haydn's (or Mozart's) previous symphonies. The effect comes from holding the minims, by means of a *fermata*, to much more than their usual values. The effect on Salomon's audience must have been electrifying. As if to match this theatrical beginning, Haydn then gives us a striking modulation, whereby the note A functions as the pivot from V of I to a six-chord in E flat: the sense of mystery and withheld power is increased because the E flat section contains no chords in the root position.

The *Allegro assai* opens with one of Haydn's melodies that was born popular; for many people in obscure American villages, this tune became their introduction to Haydn by way of its arrangement as a Protestant hymn – a rather unlikely fate for such a cheerful tune. The accents Haydn noted are extremely subtle: during all the dynamic marks of the first violin in the example just quoted, the second violin (and presumably the unmarked cello & bass) is *pp*. This *Allegro assai* is one of Haydn's most regular, in that there is a real second subject which also appears in its proper place in the recapitulation. What is most irregular is the development section. After three bars of modulation, Haydn is in E minor and introduces what appears to be a new subject; this five-note phrase then proceeds to dominate matters during the entire development section except for a brief reference to the second subject just before the final retransition to the recapitulation. It can be demonstrated with some conviction that this "new subject" – the kind of thing Mozart did in his Symphony in B flat K. 319 with the "Credo" theme, which is new to its development section – is in fact pasted together from two fragments, one from the first and one from the second subject. But it might with some justification be said that the average listener could hardly make this kind of analysis aurally, though there is a curious and very strong feeling that this five-note figure is well known to us. It is, however, one of the few times that Haydn's developmental figures are not immediately recognizable, not on paper but to the ears of the average educated listener. Throughout this movement one has the constant feeling of self-confidence, and this in turn generates a sense of power that is displayed in an almost un-Haydnish way in the massive cadence during the coda, where the whole orchestra crashes down in chords on the first beat. There is indeed a considerable difference between this worldly and powerful movement and the music of the 1791 season. At the opening night, as Haydn's diary informs us, the slow movement was repeated; at the second concert, the *Madrigal* "The Storm" was repeated, and also the first *and* second movements of No. 93. Haydn had certainly succeeded in guessing the English taste . . .

The *Largo cantabile* in barred C opens with another stroke of great originality; having heard it, one wonders why no one ever thought of it before. The music is announced by a solo string quartet, and it is not until bar 9 that the strings, "Tutti ma piano", and a solo bassoon repeat the theme in "normal" orchestral colours. The rests between the notes of the theme itself as well as the trill are all destined for dotted treatment in the grand Baroque manner. The movement is a new kind of variation form but *durchkomponiert* and without any double bars or repeat signs: new, because Haydn has here combined variation with rondo form, creating a fascinating hybrid that would be called "variation rondo form" if he had composed more examples of it and made it more popular. The theme is always repeated in the tonic; in between the theme's announcement, we wander into other keys and introduce material that is new but often related to the theme. The first such "excursion" is in G minor and in the Handelian manner, with dotted figures and chain trills, such as would awaken delightful *déjà-entendu* feelings in British hearts. Excursion Two slides into quaver triplets and introduces us to a delightful solo timpani passage (bar 30), again a presage of more to come. It will have been noted that Haydn very often gives us a hint of some instrument's coming prominence (thus the oboe solo in No. 96/I introduction foretelling the great oboe solo in the Trio, and the solo cello in No. 95/II preparing the way for the Trio); here he gives us the first taste of what will become a famous timpani solo towards the end of the movement. This Excursion Two continues with a ravishingly beautiful oboe solo, which grows magically out of held D^2 minims to curve gracefully over the accompanying orchestra. The effect is highly operatic, almost like the beginning of the slow section in some great *scena*. When the theme comes back it is carefully transformed to continue producing these triplets as an accompaniment in the second violin. In fact the theme is immediately transformed into a huge orchestra *crescendo*, one of the most powerful of the first Salomon Symphonies, and we modulate in slow waves from G minor to B flat and to the dominant of G in a spellbinding *decrescendo* (marked "sempre più piano"); arriving at the penultimate announcement of the theme. This whole section is bound together by the ubiquitous triplets, which lend a sense of unity to this brilliantly constructed *Adagio*. The feeling of unbroken line is further enhanced by a last and poignantly beautiful oboe solo (still in triplets: bars 67 *ff.*), reminding us of that instrument's previous solo. The final announcement of the theme is *forte* but breaks off to introduce a kind of cadenza in which the timpani have an effective solo. Following this passage of suspended motion, the bassoons let out a most obscene and ridiculous *ff* note, C^1 (two octaves below middle C, which is one of the few times that Haydn ever indulged in Rabelaisian humour. It is an extremely comic effect. The whole movement indeed has a joviality and high spirits that complement very effectively the swashbuckling outer parts of the Symphony.

Haydn is now beginning to speed up his minuet sections. Those of 1791 were still in the slower "Viennese" tempo (as indeed befitted such a delightfully Austrian dance movement as No. 96/III), but now we find "Allegro" more prominent than the older "Allegretto". No. 93/III is *Allegro* and so is No. 98/III, while No. 94/III is *Allegro molto;* only No. 97 is marked with the slower tempo. Together with this increase of tempo goes a certain incisiveness and the same very symphonic approach that already distinguished No. 92/III ("Oxford"). In No. 93/III we observe an interesting attempt to link the *Menuetto* to the first movement, and by means of the latter's important second subject. The accompaniment is identical even to the staccato dots and the melodies have the same *Urlinie* in both cases. In the second part we note another prominent timpani solo, this time a long *pp* roll. The layout of the score is highly original here, the two oboes and two violins echoing each other and a double pedal point being executed by the flute in repeated quavers (in itself an almost Mahlerian effect) at D^3 and the timpani three octaves below.

In the Trio we find ourselves in the middle of a sumptuous pageant, with the wind band and timpani thundering out a series of fanfares on the note D. Each time the strings answer in some unexpected key, the first time in B minor, the second time in G. It is a curiously aggressive and almost exhibitionistic and masculine movement which obviously had a profound effect on Beethoven.

Haydn seems to have had this Symphony in mind for Frau von Genzinger: he had promised her a new symphony early in 1790 (CCLN 99) but although he had written Nos. 95 and 96 in between, it was No. 93 that he thought, as we see, to dedicate to her. "I cannot send Your Grace the Symphony which is dedicated to you, for the following reasons: first, because I intend to alter the last movement of it, and to improve it, since it is too weak compared with the first. I was convinced of this myself, and so was the public, when it was played the first time last Friday; notwithstanding which, it made the most profound impression on the audience. The second reason is that I really dread the risk of its falling into other hands . . ." (letter of 2 March 1792, probably misdated, because "last Friday" would be 24 February, at which No. 93 was repeated; but it is clear that No. 93 is meant; CCLN 131).

We have no means of knowing if Haydn ever found the time to revise the movement, or if what we now have is still the first, "uncorrected" version. As it stands, however, it is difficult to see any weakness and certainly not any feebleness, so perhaps the original version was really discarded. It is in sonata form and marked *Presto, ma non troppo*, but its Finale character is assured by the light metre (2/4) and by the way in which the movement is laid out, the first section being in Haydn's customary scheme of:

‖: A :‖: B + A :‖
16 bars 26 bars 8 bars

and ending on the tonic. There is a long transition to the dominant, and then a repetition of the first subject in that key – all as might be expected; what follows would appear to be the closing material in the dominant, a broadly spaced *tutti*. At the end of the end of the *tutti* we are surprised to find a full-fledged second subject and one, moreover, clearly related to the subsidiary theme of the first movement and also a passage in the Minuet. The lead-back to the recapitulation has always been the delight of connoisseurs: from a *tutti* ending in the dominant of the mediant (bass: C sharp), a solo cello repeats the octave skip *(p)* twice, whereupon Haydn simply jumps *fortissimo* into unison D and the recapitulation. Like many details of this Symphony, this sliding into the tonic from a pivotal leading note (in this case: V of III = leading note of I) is something which Beethoven would put to excellent use. The coda introduces still another timpani solo, once again a *pp* roll on a tonic pedal point and once again unsupported. At the end of this coda, the oboes, bassoons, horns and trumpets blare out the theme (supported by timpani) in a first rousing fanfare to echo the sound of the Trio (the second horns and trumpets had to fake the written D^1, sounding E, which were not on valveless brass instruments . . .) and conclude one of Haydn's most extrovert, hearty and eminently successful attempts at *le goût anglais*.

Symphony No. 94 in G (1791)
("The Surprise"/"Mit dem Paukenschlag")

This is, and for at least a century and half has been, Haydn's most celebrated piece of music, rivalling the popular affection for the *Creation* in German-speaking countries and surpassing it in the Anglo-Saxon world. It is certainly the most overplayed Haydn symphony and one of the most hackneyed pieces in the whole repertoire of classical music. It has only been saved from an even "worse" popularity by not having been arranged as a jazz tune, in the manner of Mozart's "Symphony No. 40" or (in earlier years) the Sonata K. 545. Because of its being so overplayed, Haydn biographers have not treated it kindly, possibly because of a simple case of over-exposure. The public, as is well known, finds it easier to love and remember a piece of music with a history, a nickname, one connected with an anecdote. It is scarcely an accident that Edition Eulenburg, when it began to issue the lesser-known Haydn symphonies in miniature score, printed "The Oxford" before Nos. 90 and 91, "L'ours" before No. 80, "Der Schulmeister" before Nos. 52 or 54 (both far greater works), "Maria Theresa" before No. 47 – and so forth; the list is long and slightly depressing. On the other hand, it must be recalled that Symphony No. 94 had no name at all when it was first performed in 1792; and the "Surprise" in the second movement was hardly the

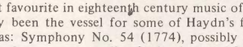
[5] This is the first London Symphony in our chronological arrangement that was analyzed by Sir Donald Francis Tovey in his famous series of programme notes which were gathered together in essay form by the Oxford University Press. Tovey's understanding of Haydn was, for his time, almost unique and was probably considered exaggerated and eccentric. His analyses remain the finest collection of their kind on Haydn. *Essays in Musical Analysis,* 6 vols., London (O.U.P.) 1935 *et seq.*

Johann Peter Salomon, Haydn's great impressario and leader of the Salomon Orchestra. This is a pencil sketch by George Dance, dated 19th June, 1794. From the collection of H.C.Robbins-Landon, Vienna.

sole reason for the work's immediate popularity in London. If we examine the whole Symphony with critical impartiality, it is clear that it has special qualities in all its movements – not only the *Andante* – that place it somewhat in a class by itself, at least in the first series of the Salomon Symphonies. It is, obviously, the second movement which propelled it into the small group of really popular Haydn compositions; and it will be seen that the *Andante* is a particularly beautiful, elegant and in part stirring piece of music which every bit deserves the fame it enjoys.

The first thing that sets it apart from its companions of the 1791-2 season is, of course, the key – G major. This pastoral key, a great favourite in eighteenth century music of all *genres,* had already been the vessel for some of Haydn's finest symphonic ideas: Symphony No. 54 (1774), possibly a work revised for London, was outstanding for its time, and Symphonies Nos. 88 (1787?) and 92 ("Oxford", 1789) are the two works that might be considered the greatest immediate precursors of the "Surprise". With the limitations of the trumpets in G – a subject to which we will return in a moment – Haydn scored these earlier G major Symphonies with trumpets in C. This gave a curious orchestral colour to the brass parts of these pieces and taxed Haydn's imagination to overcome the technical drawbacks. Mozart tackled the problem in a symphony only once: in the magnificent theatrical Overture in three connected movements (K. 318), where he used four horns and two trumpets. (The timpani part in the autograph of K. 318 was added later to the autograph and is in the very curious pitch of high G and [normal] D.) K. 318 achieved hardly any circulation in Mozart's lifetime, however, and thus the full orchestra in G major was, as far as most European musicians were concerned, a Haydn invention – which historically speaking it was, since Symphony 54 (1774) precedes Mozart's K. 318 by five years.

Haydn originally started to write the autograph of Symphony No. 94 with trumpets in G, the so-called "English" trumpets referred to in Altenburg's famous treatise of 1795; in Italy they were called "trombe piccole". Since their diatonic scale did not begin until sounding G^2, their limitations were really very extreme in an age where the *clarino* register had almost entirely disappeared except in remote provincial pockets. Their "useful" notes, *de anno* 1791-2 were:



which meant that their upper notes were in an extremely high range of the orchestra and that the trumpets would tend to cut through the texture even in *forte* passages. The sounding C^3 being impure (it could be "tipped up" to C sharp more easily), its use at this fearfully high range was dubious. Haydn wrote the whole opening movement of No. 94 with G trumpets, and he was very careful to use them mainly up to written E^2 (= B^2); only once does he employ the tricky sounding C^3 (I:214); but he must have decided that they would be too difficult to play and perhaps also too shrill; for having completed the opening movement he changed to C trumpets and wrote, at the first entrance of the original (G) trumpet parts in the autograph (I:21), "a parte" over the stave, crossing out the discarded parts. The C trumpet parts for I are on a separate sheet at the end of the MS. By the time he reached the third and fourth movements, Haydn put C trumpets in the score: the slow movement would have had parts in C as a matter of course. The original G trumpet parts are printed as an Appendix to the Haydn-Mozart-Presse (Philharmonia) score.

Symphony No. 94 begins with a pastoral introduction, the only one of the first set of London Symphonies to open *piano;* years of subsequent symphonic writing have possibly blunted our ears to the originality and freshness of the beginning, for wind band *soli* marked "cantabile". The first subject is one of Haydn's very shortest, and in its harmonic pattern it is similar to that of No. 86 (also off-tonic, also only a few bars in

length); and if we have studied that previous work for Paris, we will expect a large *tutti* to establish the tonic and a repetition of the main theme. That seems to be what happens in No. 94: 14 bars of a rousing orchestral flourish and then after another four bars' transition the main theme over again, with a countersubject in the oboe. But there is one significant difference: in No. 86, the *tutti* turned into a bridge passage and modulated to the dominant; in No. 94, we are still in the tonic when the theme is reintroduced. The whole procedure is then repeated: bridge passage to the dominant and then the main theme in a brilliantly ambivalent tonal position of appearing to be in F major for a moment before moving deftly into the dominant of the dominant.

The shortness and tonal instability of the first theme leads Haydn to balance it with a very long section in the dominant and a second subject group which consists of two distinct themes. No. 94, then, is almost unique in Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre* by having three main subjects.

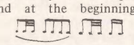
In the development Haydn introduces another great innovation: the G drum is tuned to A at the end of the exposition (the player is given plenty of time to retune, and plenty of time afterwards to get his instrument back to the tonic). Haydn can, by this operation, have drums in the tonic and dominant key for his long episode in D minor during the development section (bars 123 *ff.*). This tremendous "leap forward" into later orchestral practice is clearly marked in Haydn's autograph but was later changed (not in Haydn's hand; is it Salomon's?) to fit the un-retuned drums of G and D. The score by an Esterházy copyist which is a copy Haydn had made when he returned from England in the Summer of 1792 has the original A version unchanged, which shows that the change was made later. No doubt this innovation will have created utter chaos in most orchestras, whereas Haydn will have explained what he wanted verbally to the London players.

The last and perhaps wittiest of the ambiguous preparations for the main theme is that of the actual recapitulation, which is reached at the tail end of a full cadence in B minor for the whole orchestra. *(see above example)*

Once more there is an extraordinary allusion to the introduction.

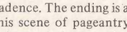
Originally there was no "Surprise" in the *Andante* and the first 32 bars of the present score were, in the original MS., twice eight bars with repeat signs. The original version is printed as an Appendix of the Haydn-Mozart-Presse (and Philharmonia 794) score. There are three highly indicative markings that should help conductors to understand the movement's character. The one is the description of the main theme in the autograph as "Semplice". This sort of nursery tune is very difficult to write so that it sounds effective, "child-like" and innocent; Haydn had composed a similar kind of movement many years before, the second movement of the "Schoolmaster" Symphony No. 55, where we also find the indication "Adagio, ma semplicamente" (which meant in that case totally without vibrato, the subsequent indication for which is "dolce"). The movement is also *Andante* and not *Allegretto;* almost everyone nowadays takes it too quickly, which automatically destroys many of Haydn's delicate effects. The third point is more subtle: it is the use of *tenuto* on the crotchets. How necessary this *tenuto* is (writing the unadorned crotchet was obviously insufficient) may be seen in the many performances where despite this warning the notes are not held to the very end. This *tenuto* also serves another function. By holding the note to its full length, the melodic stress does not simply end there, as it otherwise would, but carries on to the next phrase. Thus each one of the crotchets serves the dualistic purpose of forming the end of one phrase and leading in the beginning of the next.

The first variation is in two groups of eight bars, both repeated. It is the beginning of a gradual build-up of melodic, rhythmic and orchestral tension-*cum*-relaxation which shows Haydn the supreme master-craftsman. Here the theme is presented in the middle strings and the first violin, once joined by the flute, have a countersubject. The second variation is in the tonic minor and only the first eight bars are marked with a repeat sign. From there to the end of the movement everything is *auskomponiert.* The entrance of the brass and timpani at bar 65 mark the climax of a steady increase in tension during the minor section. From steady quavers we move unobtrusively to semiquavers in the accompaniment (53,4) and at the beginning of the *minore's* second part to



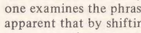
Variation three (bars 75 *ff.*) returns to *piano* but the increased rhythmic division in semiquavers is continued during the oboe solo, while the second part returns to the original slower quaver pulse but shifts the attention to a ravishingly beautiful solo passage for first flute and first oboe. Variation four (bars 107 *ff.*) is a march with the trumpets and horns thundering out the theme *fortissimo* and the basic pulse still more increased by having the violins move in sextuplet semiquavers. The off-beat triple stops by the second violins, violas and cellos adds one further element of excitement to this stirring section. Its repetition (bars 115 *ff.*) is a startling contrast – just strings and bassoons *col basso*, and the score is marked "pianissimo e doice". The march resumes, moving majestically towards a massive *fermata* on a deceptive cadence. The ending is as if a sudden veil had been drawn across this scene of pageantry, blurring the outlines and merging the colours: it is a magical effect, giving the music some of the ephemerality, the lingering sadness that we find in Watteau's *fetes.*

The only other time Haydn had ever used such a quick tempo for a minuet was in Symphony No. 28 (1765): No. 94's *Menuet (Allegro molto)* seems to be a Bruegelian dance, but although the oboes, horns, second violins and violas have the

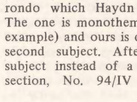


rhythm to contrast with the strong first beat of trumpets, timpani and basses, the effect is much more like a lusty, and perhaps rather crude, peasants' dance than the waltz with the rhythm of which it has obvious affinities. The Trio, a wispy and rather droll piece for bassoon and strings, is carefully bound to the *Menuet* by the association of a quaver scale (going in inverted direction in the Trio) and by intervallic association.

The Finale is one of the most sophisticated examples of a sonata rondo that Haydn (or anyone else) ever composed. If one examines the phrasing of the main theme, it is immediately apparent that by shifting the accents to the 4th and 2nd quavers



the music divests itself of what would otherwise be a conventional four-squaredness. Formally this movement is one of two basic kinds of sonata rondo which Haydn favoured during the London period. The one is monothematic (No. 97/IV is a very characteristic example) and ours is duo-thematic, with a broadly contrasting second subject. After the announcement of the second subject instead of a double bar and then a development section, No. 94/IV dispenses entirely with the double bar and then modulates back to the tonic and a restatement of the main theme. Schematically this may be expressed as follows:



The rondo character is suggested by the return to the main theme and the tonic key, but there follows a lively and extremely virtuoso development as in strict sonata form. There is even a *fausse reprise* of an unexpected kind. After this aforementioned development section, Haydn returns once again to the main theme (bar 145), but its progress is immediately broken off by a new development in G minor which dashes its way through another kaleidoscopic series of modulations and arrives back at the main theme by a series of *perpetuum mobile* figures (bars 178 *ff.*). After the second theme there is a gigantic timpani solo (bar 233) which roars out of a tonic pedal point – this solo was later Bowdlerized, but Haydn's original text is not only in the autograph but also in the Esterházy Archives copy and in the authentic MS. parts at Donaueschingen Castle by Johann Elssler.

This is a phenomenal movement, combining as it does an orchestral technique of a superb calibre, a freedom of form (uniting the qualities of sonata and rondo) and a treatment of the thematic material that satisfies the intellectual and fascinates the audience. It is the great summing up of a distinguished line of such Haydn Finales in G major, a key that always seemed to bring out that fascinating and typically Viennese ability to combine rigorous intellectual discipline with great outward beauty. It would be a bold man who would dare give the palm to the triumvirate of G major Finales from the years 1787-1791: No. 88, No. 92 ("Oxford") or No. 94 – the latter in a Symphony which has justly become a symbol for all Haydn's music.

Symphony No. 98 in B flat (1792?)

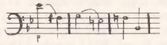
This is the first symphony, and as far as we can tell, the first work altogether in which Haydn uses trumpets and kettledrums in the key of B flat. Mozart never used them in a B flat symphony. Perhaps the use of brass in this key was an English speciality, though the tradition existed in Salzburg. Haydn's brother Johann Michael used them in a Symphony in B flat dated 29 January 1788 (Perger 28) and also in church music twenty years before (preserved in autograph). The tradition was hardly known in Vienna for instrumental works, however, and it was not till Haydn returned there and introduced his various B flat London works with trumpets and drums (No. 98, *Concertante,* No. 102) that the practice became general. It is a curious detail but worth mentioning. Mozart actually used trumpets in B flat (for example in the Aria "Come un scoglio" *Così fan tutte*), and possibly the fact that he wrote no symphonies in that key after K. 319 may explain their absence in his symphonies. Moreover, B flat orchestral works in Austria were usually either "chamber symphonies" or (for example) piano concertos with B flat *alto* horns but no trumpets or timpani. Although Haydn's many previous B flat symphonies lack any indication of *alto* or *basso* for the horns, there is no reason to think that his orchestral palette for B flat was any different from Mozart's. The only indication of *alto* for horns that exists before 1791 is for C horns, and that frequently because there were almost never trumpets at Eszterháza (1780 was an exception) and the C *alto* horns took over the function of the trumpets. In England, however, there seems to have been no tradition for *alto* horn playing, certainly not in C and probably not in 3 flat either. Haydn's friend William Shield, discussing

the pitch and transposition of all the horns in 1800[7] writes: "Corni in B flat . . . The length of a B flat Horn renders the tone very dead, in consequence of which Compositions in this key are often accompanied with E flat Horns", and goes on to add an example with the top line the "written notes" and the bottom line "real tones", from which it is abundantly clear that B flat horns were played *basso.* The subdued brilliance of trumpets and horns in that key gives the orchestral sound a kind of solemn elegance, quite different from the clear, shining colour they have in D major or the martial excitement they generate in C major, at least in Haydn's treatment of that key. From this point in Haydn's career, B flat major with the full orchestra plays a major rôle, not only in symphonies but particularly in the late Masses (*Missa Sancti Bernardi de Offida* of 1796 and the Masses of 1799, 1801 and 1802) and the two late Oratorios, the *Creation* and *Seasons.*

No doubt the brass and timpani in B flat lend to this work a heaviness and weight which accord well with the serious atmosphere of the Symphony as a whole. The orchestral colour seems to have disturbed nineteenth-century musicians because this is the second London work in which the entire trumpet and timpani parts were rewritten; Haydn's original parts were first published in modern times by the present writer (*Music Review* 1954). Bad though these rewritten parts are throughout, the arranger outdid himself in two places: he is scandalously inept in the heavily brass and timpani-accented Minuet, the texture of which he ruined, and criminally negligent in the last part of the Finale; there, at bars 344 *ff.*, the trumpets double the horns at the beginning when the music is *forte,* giving a shining gloss to the top of the orchestral sound and later they are fastidiously lowered a little in pitch when the whole passage is repeated in a momentous *piano* to *crescendo;* all this studied treatment of the brass parts was ruthlessly destroyed by the editorial hack. It is hard to believe that anyone could have been so unmusical.

In keeping with the spirit of the work, the *Adagio* introduction begins in B flat minor and announces the *Allegro's* main subject at once, or at least the first four notes of it. This literal pre-announcement of the principal theme occurred in 1788, with Symphony No. 90 in C, and both are part of Haydn's efforts to bind the introduction more closely to the movement proper. We shall see in the final Symphony of 1792 (No. 97) an even more compelling, though concealed, effort which, in turn, will lead to the most complicated relationship between introduction and *allegro* that Haydn attempted, No. 103. *(see above).* It will be noted that the introduction has the notes unbound (or with *staccati*) and marked with *fz* under the minims, whereas in the *Allegro* the melody is elegantly phrased in *legato* slurs. Both facets of the theme appear side by side when the music reaches the dominant and the main subject is introduced again:

The enormous size of the exposition is apparent not only in the number of bars (16 to 131 as compared to 61 bars in No. 95 and 65 in No. 96, the latter counted from the end of the introduction, of course), but also in the length of time Haydn stays in the dominant. By bar 55 he is in the middle of the modulation to the dominant but since he has already arrived at V of V we may say with confidence that from this point to the double bar at 131, the music is firmly in F major. In such a passage as that of bars 75 *ff.* (later repeated in a slightly changed form), the intervals of a sixth, third and fifth are all plainly derived from the main subject, which contains (in order) two third progressions, one fourth, one sixth, one fourth, one fifth, one fourth and one fifth:



The second subject is put off until bar 106; it is a long oboe line in semibreves accompanied by rather restless quavers in the upper strings and broken off by an upwards scale in the first violin which derives from the end of the first subject (beginning of the bridge passage: bars 32 *f*). The long oboe arc is resumed after the interruption and leads to the double bar. In the recapitulation this second statement is given unexpectedly and with a lovely effect to the flute. The serious intention of this Symphony is immediately made even more clear in the development section, which is an elaborate and contrapuntally involved working-out of the first subject and other material from the exposition's long section in the dominant. There was a constant feeling of restlessness throughout the exposition; this restlessness now turns rather ominously to anxiety in a way quite unprecedented in Haydn's recent career. Verbal description being at best a cloudy substitute for the actual music, one must simply refer to bars 145 *ff.* from the development where this feeling of *Angst* is suddenly behind all those *forzati.*

Tovey, in his brilliant essay on this Symphony, thought that the great slow movement *(Adagio),* the main theme of which is inspired by "God save the King", was Haydn's lament on the death of Mozart; and un-Mozartean though the other five London Symphonies of 1791-2 undoubtedly are – not to speak of the *Concertante* – there are aspects of this beautiful *Adagio* in No. 98 which might be construed as a tribute to the composer of the "Jupiter" Symphony and especially its *Andante.* The same troubled and restless undertones that we have observed in the opening *Allegro* of No. 98 also inform this *Adagio,* and the music rises to a crisis almost amounting to panic in the development section, repeating the pattern of the first movement and also using the same technical device, *viz.* the first notes of the principal subject. The recapitulation enters to the accompaniment of a solo cello, whose lonely sound adds a sense of autumnal beauty to the music. When the theme enters the last time, the first oboe has the theme and the first violin has a staggering E flat, creating a sudden ambiguity and poignancy. The flash of inspiration was, like many things in this Symphony, destroyed by the hacks in the nineteenth century. In one score we have examined (Cranz), the original plate had what Haydn wrote in the first violin part, and one can see that it was subsequently changed to F^1, which is what *die Herren* Gyrowetz or Pleyel or Wranitzky would have written. We shall never know if Haydn really composed this profoundly personal movement in private memory of his dead young friend; but if he did, it is the greatest epitaph that Mozart, who lay in a nameless Viennese grave, would ever receive.

The *Menuet* is heavily symphonic, with a dark swirl of colour in the *soli* for wind band and timpani at bars 4-6 and a series of *forzati* towards the end that culminate in an explosive *ff* at bar 50. The Trio omits horns, trumpets and drums so that the folk-tune of a melody will stand out in all its innocence.

This is the largest, most complex and ambitious symphonic Finale of Haydn's career up to now and is only matched in quite another sphere and with another purpose by the Finale of Mozart's "Jupiter". Haydn's *Presto* has 386 bars, and the first 147 are to be repeated, a total length of some eleven minutes. The entire Symphony is thus nearly thirty-five minutes in length even at our tempi which are certainly quicker than those Haydn and Salomon would have chosen. After the double bar, preceded by a *fermata* which must apply, one assumes, only to the *second* time round, the music drops into A flat major and the totally unexpected pleasure of a series of solo violin passages for Mr. Salomon. These "Salomon soli"

[7] *Introduction to Harmony,* London, Printed for the Author, p. 95.

are not just confined to the section after the double bar; after a big *tutti* the solo violin enters again and in a very extended solo section, he carries the music back to the recapitulation and announces the main theme himself. If the London audience was already on its tiptoes, Haydn has still more sensational effects in store for us. In keeping with the enormous size of the Finale as a whole, the coda is equally huge. It begins with the upbeat to bar 328 and the tempo is retarded to "più moderato". The main theme sounds, at first, like a lunatic slow-motion copy of itself, but after the seventh bar, the music lunges ahead by the notational trick of having been written in semiquavers. This "più moderato" has, in fact, had the opposite effect of speeding up the music in a most exciting way. In the middle of this bustle of semiquavers, Haydn introduces an orchestral effect which is intoxicating: the brass and timpani seem to interrupt and then to take over the pattern of exchange between the bass line and the top woodwind. The whole thing is then repeated with different emphasis and *piano*, leading (as Salomon's quintet arrangement suggests) to a huge *crescendo* – the autograph and the authentic MS. parts are rather fragmented here as to what happens after the piano.

It must have been thought, that historic night of 2 March 1792, that Haydn had now reached the end of his limitless invention, and the end of the Symphony. But, no doubt to the utter incredulity of the London public, Dr. Haydn now proceeded to display his talents on the *fortepiano* (still marked, of course, *Cembalo Solo* in the autograph). One needs only a modicum of imagination to conjure up the cheers of delight and the stamping that greeted this dexterous display on the part of the world's greatest living composer.

Symphony No. 97 in C (1792)

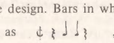
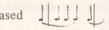
This is Haydn's last symphony in C major, the end of a long series that the composer began about 1760, when still in the service of Count Morzin, with Nos. 32, 33 and, possibly slightly later, No. 20. As distinguished from the customary kind of C major symphony with oboes and horns (Nos. 2, 9 or 25) this other type in the same key includes trumpets and kettledrums. It is some time, indeed, before Haydn uses those instruments in any other key except C major, so that C becomes for Haydn what D major was for Bach – a "festival" key. When Haydn became director of the Esterházy establishment, he found no trumpets in the orchestra, and it was some time before he composed any more "festival" symphonies. Gradually he evolved a clever substitute for trumpets, namely horns in high C (C *alto*), which together with timpani produced a brilliant orchestral effect. Occasionally Haydn was able to recruit trumpets as well, and the combination of C *alto* horns and trumpets (at the same pitch) proved to be an intoxicating sound in Symphony No. 56 (1774). In the years from about 1768 to 1788, we have a long series of C major "festival" symphonies, including Nos. 38, 41, 48 ("Maria Theresa"), 50, 56, 60 ("Il Distratto"), 63 ("La Roxelane"), 69 ("Laudon"), 82 ("L'ours") and 90. Beginning with an orchestra of oboes, horns and/or trumpets, kettledrums and strings (with bassoons *col basso*), this group was gradually widened to include a flute as in No. 41 (where it only plays in the slow movement) and an *obbligato* bassoon as in No. 56 (also only in the slow movement, though it otherwise was expected to double the bass line). By No. 69, the orchestra includes two bassoons with an independent part throughout, and by No. 82 there is an *obbligato* flute part in all movements. Symphony No. 90 is the last such "festival" symphony to require C *alto* horns (though as we have seen, in London they probably played them in C *basso* when Haydn conducted the work there in 1791). No. 97 uses the usual Salomon orchestra (pairs of woodwind without clarinets, C *basso* horns, trumpets and timpani with the customary strings) and carries this peculiarly Haydnesque type of symphony to a final burst of glory.

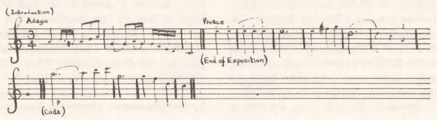
The *Adagio* introduction carries a step further Haydn's experiments with uniting the introduction to the rest of the movement. At this stage the introductions are still relatively short, so that a complicated thematic relationship with the ensuing *Vivace*, or with the rest of the Symphony, cannot be expected; and yet Haydn manages to unite the *Adagio* with what follows in a more indirect way than the procedure of more-or-less direct quotation observed in No. 98. Here the basic melodic line, stripped of its ornaments, appears in the closing material of the exposition (bars 97 *ff.*) and, much more directly, in the coda (bars 240 *ff.*). The tonally rather ambiguous accompaniment of the passage when it first appears in the introduction – ambiguous because of the E flat in violin II – is reproduced in the dominant but (for obvious reasons) more explicitly in the coda, where the thought is also extended: *(see below)*

The accompaniment that leads into the first violins' note A^1 is a repeated middle C in the second violin, and this figure is then transferred to the melody at the end of the exposition. It is also worth noting that there is a definite three-part feeling to the introduction, mostly brought about because the music modulates from I to V and back again, and because the two complete bars quoted (they are bars 2, 3 and the first note of 4) at the beginning also finish off the *Adagio* and go straight into the *Vivace*.

The *Vivace* seems to reflect, in its exuberant and aggresive hammering-out of the tonic triad, the triumph of Haydn's first visit to London. It is immensely self-assured music and orchestrated in a flamboyant way, with prominent kettledrums. It is a beautifully proportioned movement and certainly the boldest-sounding of the first six London Symphonies; it is also a work which had, perhaps, more influence than any other of its fellows. Its orchestral layout was obviously the model for Beethoven's First Symphony and a host of minor works written at the turn of the century.

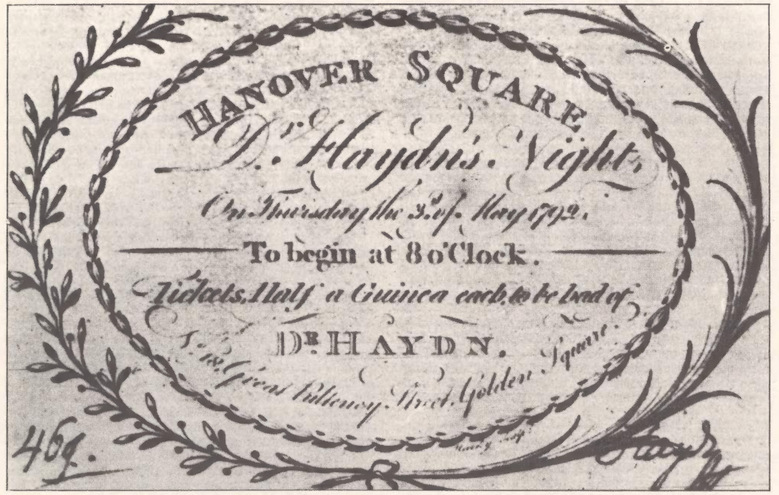
To counteract the square, firmly on-the-beat quality of the first subject, Haydn introduced a very complicated system of rhythmic displacements during the development to break down the bar lines. Nevertheless the outstanding feature of the first movement as a whole was its violently forceful first subject, definitely on the beat. The rest of the Symphony is, significantly, made up of movements the principal subjects of which are *all* introduced by an upbeat: this obtains in the *Adagio, ma non troppo,* in both *Menuetto* and Trio, and in the Finale. That Haydn should go to such extremes to offset the impression of metric squareness and solidity in the first movement shows what a powerful effect he expected it to have. The opposite was the case in the "Surprise", where the terrific strength of the second movement (all very much on the beat and in march-like two four tempo) suggested to its composer to form all the other principal subjects of the first, third and fourth movements with strong upbeats.

The rhythmic displacement that Haydn now imposes on the slow movement of No. 97 is so strong that the second and fourth beats often seem to tower over the first and third. This is of course a deliberate design. Bars in which the woodwind and horns appear only as  , and in which the strings are phrased  , are designed to foster this displacement of the strong beats. Another feature of this movement which is immediately repeated in the Minuet is that everything is written out and there are – except in the F minor part – no repeat signs. This procedure is so rare in Haydn's symphonies that there can be no question that the middle movements were especially so designed and were conceived in some respects as an entity. In fact there is some evidence that Haydn may have put off composing the first movement until the last three had been completed: the autograph of the first movement ends with "Laus Deo", a note of quiet thanks that Haydn otherwise reserved for the conclusions of his scores. In any case, the whole of Symphony No. 97 is a strong unity.



The Adagio is formally a set of free variations. Variation II introduces triplet arabesques in the first violins, Variation II is in F minor and it is here that the trumpets and timpani first enter in this movement. Variation III introduces one of Haydn's boldest orchestral devices: the violins move into a semiquaver pattern and the autograph directs them to play "al ponticello", high on the bridge. This gives a nasty, agressive, metallic sound which must have staggered the London public in May 1792: it also requires a brilliant orchestral technique and Haydn did not import this spectacular device when he took the Symphony back to the Continent. There are no "ponticello" remarks on any of the authentic sources except for those destined for England (*i.e.*, also including Salomon's arrangement for quintet and the ever-reliable Birchall print). This particular passage is marked *f*, and when Haydn repeats it *p*, he varies the sound by requesting "vicino al ponticello" (near the bridge). This huge *ponticello* section extends in Haydn's autograph – which, incidentally, was unknown to Haydn scholars until its rather mysterious reappearance at the Berlin auction house of Gerd Rosen in 1951 – from bar 85 (with upbeat) to and including bar 127. The coda is one of the most beautiful parts of Haydn's late orchestral scores: the "naturale" of the violins in bar 128, cancelling the "ponticello" instructions, comes with an incredible sense of relief after the Beckmesser chattering. It is typical that this whole "ponticello" section was not printed in any modern score until that of the Haydn-Mozart-Presse. Over repeated semiquavers in the upper strings and "portato" repeated quavers in the cellos and basses, Haydn has the first flute and first oboe spin out a fragment of a previous thought, while the bassoons fill in the tenor harmony. It is suddenly a great wave of emotion, quite unexpected in this otherwise extroverted Symphony, which rises to a *fortissimo* climax at bar 145 and then dies away. The two chords that Haydn rather surprisingly uses to cut off this wave of almost uncontrolled emotion (though nothing in Haydn, as we know, is really uncontrolled) reminds us that in those days London audiences were accustomed to applaud after individual movements. Later, at the end of Symphony No. 101's slow movement, Haydn originally ended with a loud chord which, as we shall see, he later suppressed.

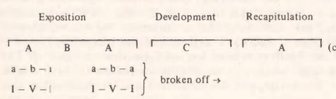
The *Menuetto* is *durchkomponiert* and so is the Trio. This allows Haydn to vary each repetition which was otherwise purely mechanical. We return to the rousing C major "bloody red" of the first movement, except that there is a constant attempt to soften the aggressive sound by constructing the melody with long legato phrases. The theme is first presented in this way, which seems to make the Minuet curiously symphonic and dignified. It is definitely not a quick movement (as was No. 94's *Allegro molto* Minuet). Thus the two middle movements gradually slow down, and then bring up the quick tempo of the outer movements in a graceful curve. The main theme, originally so *legato*, is then presented *p* and *staccato*, then very *staccato* with slashing *fz* accents. There is a startling timpani entrance, *Solo* and *f*, which crashes into the middle of a *piano* passage (twice: at bars 36 and 62). The Trio is again a violent contrast, returning to the doggerel


HANOVER SQUARE.
Dr. Haydn's Night.
On Thursday the 3d. of May 1792.
To begin at 8 o'Clock.
Tickets, Half a Guinea each, to be had of
Dr. HAYDN.
No. 19 Great Pulteney, Prod. Golden Square.
469.

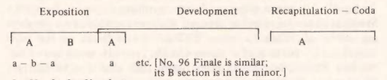
This is a ticket to Haydn's benefit concert on 3rd May, 1792. It was given by the composer to Mrs. Papendiek, who noted on the reverse side that the Duchess of York was present for the first time in England. "1500 people entered the door." Albi Rosenthal, London-Oxford.

of the first movement's second subject. Here it is an almost aggressively Austrian dance complete with yodel-like accents, the melodic construction of which shows, as always with Haydn when he is being "semplice" or "innocente", extreme sophistication and an uncanny sense of poise. The melody is first given to solo oboe, solo bassoon and the strings; the accompaniment later includes two horns which, like the bassoons in the first movement's second subject, play the accompaniment. But at the end, Haydn introduces a fantastic orchestration with "Salomon Solo ma piano" (a humorous warning to the vigorous German leader) and the trumpets and timpani entering quietly. Charles Rosen, who quotes this section, says of it, "The oom-pah-pah of a German dance band is rendered with the utmost refinement, amazingly by kettledrums and trumpets *pianissimo*, and the rustic *glissando* (a sort of glottal stop on the first beats) is given a finicky elegance by the grace notes in the horns as well as by the doubling of the melody an octave higher with the solo violin. These details are not intended to blend, but to be set in relief: they are individually exquisite."

Haydn originally marked the *Finale* "Spiritoso" and later, probably after he had left London in 1792, changed the tempo to *Preste assai*. This is a sonata-rondo, such as we have seen in Nos. 94 and 96, but (like No. 96) without any second subject. In earlier works, such as Symphonies Nos. 85 or 88, Haydn generally preferred to have a full tripartite statement in the exposition, as follows:



The formal scheme of No. 97's *Finale* is somewhat different in that the repetition of the a-b-a is shortened by having the development interrupt the "A" section in the manner of the old *fausse reprise* joke (where in the development section the main subject was introduced in the tonic but then broken off and further worked out). It is part of Haydn's constant sense of surprise. Among the many unexpected things in this racy and high spirited *Finale* is the incredible sound of the two horns in the "B" section, hammering out the accompaniment – a series of repeated quavers on the note G – in *forte*, against the melodic instruments' *piano*. The loud accompaniment is then transferred to the trumpets and kettledrums. When Haydn reaches the repetition of "A", the "B" is cancelled and the development begins ("C") in C minor:



Just before the end of this ebullient movement Haydn introduces a double *fermata*, the second time with the whole orchestra (including a timpani roll) rising in a *crescendo* and sinking again back to *piano*. Altogether this *Finale* is in many respects – formal, orchestral and in spirit – a prototype for fast-moving rondos with an extended development section and a truncated exposition. As far as anything in Haydn is "typical", No. 97/IV is a typical late-period sonata-rondo. Its influence is also felt in Haydn's own instrumental works of the coming years: the *Finales* of the C major Quartet Op. 74 No. 1 (1793), the Trio for pianoforte, violin and cello No. 35 (1794-5?) and even the London Trio in C for 2 flutes and cello (1794) all owe part of their formal construction, their melodic patterns and above all their *esprit* to Symphony No. 97's brilliant conclusion.

And with this gay and forceful Symphony, Haydn completed the first six Salomon Symphonies, setting a new standard of symphonic excellence which would only be surpassed by his own second series for London. Many commentators have justly pointed out that as a work of art, the "Oxford" Symphony No. 92 (1789) reaches a pinnacle of formal sophistication and pure physical beauty that place it on the same level as the first six London Symphonies. The excellence of the "Oxford" is not to be disputed, and if one would want to describe the principal new feature of the works composed in England, it would probably be a certain *panache*, a sparkling brilliance which is partly orchestral. If there were any criticism to be made of the "Oxford", it would be that the trumpets and timpani, which were possibly added later – how much later is a difficult question, for they are already in the Wallerstein manuscripts that Haydn sent off from Eszterháza in 1789 – seem in the quick movements to be rather superimposed on the rest of the orchestral layout. That astute nineteenth-century French critic, E.-M.-E. Deldevez[8]), comparing them to the superbly integrated trumpet and timpani parts of Symphony No. 102, thought those of the "Oxford" spurious; they are not, but they are not always felicitous. We cannot enter into details here – an analysis of the problem would exceed the available space – but this is the kind of thing that never happens even in the first series of London Symphonies. In this one respect, therefore, these works for Salomon's concerts of the 1791 and 1792 season represent an even finer *Auslese* of their composer's abilities as a symphonist than all but a very few of their chronological precursors. Apart from the "Oxford", we would say that only Nos. 82, 86 and 88 can compare with the finest of the first London set (such as No. 98). Hardly anyone except their creator would have imagined that he would now surpass even their excellence in a second series destined for the same friendly capital.

Haydn wrote his last six Symphonies between 1793 and the Spring of 1795. He was now indisputably the *doyen* of European composers; there was no one to touch him. Haydn was too wise and too sensitive not to realize the responsibilities that such a position of crowded isolation (if we may use the apparent tautology) brought with it, and he rose to the occasion in a way that hardly even his most fervent admirers could have dreamed. The heady success of the 1792 London season seemed to have released in him as yet untouched well-springs of inspiration and fertility. High as was the standard of his first Salomon Symphonies, that of the second is even higher – and this enlargement occurs in every sense. The slow movements now reach a depth of profundity that the earlier symphonies only occasionally suggest (*e.g.* the great *Capriccio* in No. 86). The orchestration is also fuller, not only generally but specifically in that clarinets now enter Haydn's symphonic scores for the first time. He had not had these instruments at Eszterháza except for a brief period in the 1770s, and for some curious reason he never used them in symphonies of the time (though they appear in the recently resuscitated German *Singspiel, Das abgebrannte Haus [Die Feursbrunst]*. He had written some early divertimenti with clarinets, *e.g.* the *Divertimento a Nove* (II:17) in C, but the instruments he had at his disposal – they were C clarinets – seem to have been technically unsatisfactory; he hardly used them in instrumental music until the Notturni for the King of Naples composed in 1790, where incidentally he again uses only C clarinets. The history of Mozart's peculiarly effective use of clarinets was bound up with the Stadler brothers, who developed the *chalumeau* of lower register of the instrument and also made mechanical improvements in it and the basset horn. Otherwise, apart from Vienna, the clarinets

[8] *Curiosités Musicales*, Paris 1873, p. 20.

even in the 1790s were rather primitive instruments and Haydn used them with a certain amount of circumspection in the Symphonies of 1794 and 1795. We will examine the technical aspects of Haydn's clarinet writing in connection with Symphony No. 99 in E flat, *infra*.

Released from the provincial cage of Eszterháza – where everybody had soon known (*via* the publishing world) what he was doing, but he himself remained a prisoner – Haydn soon developed an almost seismographical, or perhaps one should say mesmeric, ability to sense what the public wanted. If he soon managed to create an instantaneous and international hit in the form of the "Surprise" Symphony in 1792, he surpassed himself with the "Military" two years later; and what is so extraordinary about the wild public success of the latter's slow movement is that it comes from an *earlier work* (part of a Concerto for two lire written for the King of Naples in 1786). Haydn was now so sure of himself that he could pick and choose among his "unpublished" works, seeking out a piece which had not reached any public except that present at Eszterháza, or at the private concerts of King Ferdinand and his friend Norbert Hadrava from the Austrian legation in Naples. Haydn knew, obviously, that this movement, reorchestrated for the London public and provided with a new coda, would be another smash hit. His withholding both No. 94 and No. 100 until their respective seasons had been well in progress shows how carefully he gauged the public pulse, just as he had always stipulated that his new symphonies should be played *after* the interval. All this is partly instinct and partly showmanship, but Haydn's ability to seek out such a hit from among his earlier works is an astonishing tribute to his knowledge of the London and indeed the European public temper. It is also a tribute to the composer's perspicacity that he was writing such music in 1786, destined (at least as far as Haydn or anyone else then knew) for an eccentric King and his cronies in a faraway capital and in a sense a stillborn child. It took London to release this movement from an unmerited obscurity and Haydn's judgement to know that it had within it the seeds of a gigantic public success.

There were some works among the last six "Londons" that were never supposed to be great popular successes: these were the "private pieces" for connoisseurs which reveal in a special and intimate way the innermost thoughts of their composer. Perhaps Mozart's G minor Symphony K. 550 was such a private work; at any rate it did not become popular until the composer was dead, and was not really considered the essence of the "demonic" Mozart until the Romantic period. Haydn's Symphony No. 102 is also such a piece. Haydn could afford to write a symphony for himself, as it were, after the great success of the 1794 season. No. 102 has never become a popular work in the sense of the "Surprise" and "Military"; no doubt Haydn would have been very surprised if it had. It rights the balance of the last six Salomon Symphonies, revealing in its fantastic intellectual power (the first movement) and in its brooding ambivalence (the second movement) a part of the composer that could not have shown itself to this extent in the crashing Turkish music of No. 100 or the virtuoso brilliance of No. 101 ("The Clock").

The greatest orchestral and formal experimenter of the eighteenth century could not, even at this stage of his life, rest on his laurels. In one work we must have muted trumpets and covered drums, something that had been used in theatrical music (*inter alia* by Mozart in *Idomeneo*, which was still unpublished) but never in a classical symphony (No. 102); in another we must organize the most complex interrelationship between a slow introduction and the main movement since Mozart's K. 543 (No. 103), and in that same Symphony, there is a beginning which is without question the most original (and ominous) beginning of a Symphony, certainly of its period, possibly of all time – the strange drum roll that has given the work its name. The use of the Turkish music in No. 100 is again something used in operatic music, especially Viennese operas with a "Turkish" twist such as Haydn's *L'incontro improvviso* (1775) and Mozart's *Entführung* (1782), but never in a classical symphony. If we are to have monothematic *Finales*, it is now on a grand scale and of an intensity (No. 103/IV) unreached until the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony. And for the last time in a symphony, Haydn can enjoy melodic excursions into the folklore of eastern Europe, creating wild confusion among ethnographical researchers (are they Croatian, Hungarian, Gypsy, these Balkan tunes?) but delight among London's *fin-de-siècle* audience (No. 103/II). Haydn's own melodies have become almost indistinguishable from folk-tunes: is the melody of No. 104/IV a London street cry, a Croatian folk-tune or Haydn's own creation? We shall probably never know, given the time interval (1795-1974) and the almost complete disappearance of such tunes among eastern European peasants. And in one sense, the matter is of historical interest only, considering the melodic structure of Haydn's London Symphonies as a whole. These exotic excursions, if we may quote the late Bence Szabolcsi in another (Mozartean) context, are a part of the great heritage that Haydn enjoyed as a member of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; but they are reserved for special occasions, like the Turkish music of No. 100.

In sum, these last six Salomon Symphonies are on the one hand a magnificent summing-up, the great harvest of nearly half-a-century, while on the other they open endless new vistas for other and later composers to explore – not least among them Beethoven, who inherited this glorious symphonic tradition and was destined to carry it to new and remote spheres.

Symphony No. 99 in E flat (1793)

Haydn thought he would return to London in 1793. We do not know when in that year he composed this Symphony, but he must have discussed with Salomon the enlargement of the orchestra to include clarinets, for although the London newspapers of the previous seasons had listed clarinet players (Mr. Eley and/or Mr. Fluger or Flieger in 1791 and Mr. [Carl] Hartman a year later, the latter praised for his sweetness of tone in the *Morning Chronicle* during the 1794 season), they seem to have been soloists rather than regular members of the band. From 1794, clarinets were a regular feature of the Salomon orchestra, and also in the Opera Concert of 1795.

We have mentioned that Mozart's clarinet writing was profoundly influenced by the excellence of the Stadlers, especially Anton, who made mechanical improvements on both clarinet and basset horn, significantly to enlarge their tonal compass in the lower register. It is now known that the lost authentic version of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto in A was for an instrument with a range extending lower than the instrument now in general use; originally it was composed, but not completed, for a basset horn in G. Stadler specialized on the *chalumeau* register, as we have noted, and it is questionable whether this lower range had been exploited by any other player to that extent. Certainly Mozart's clarinet writing did not create a "school" for some time, and one wonders if apart from the Stadlers there were other clarinet players capable even of playing some of Mozart's more difficult parts, such as the solo basset horn parts in *La clemenza di Tito*. It is curious that neither Haydn nor Beethoven really followed the Mozartean trend, though Haydn's parts are often closer to Mozart's – especially those composed in the late 1790s in Vienna. It is, moreover, problematic how many of Mozart's clarinet works Haydn can have heard by 1793: hardly the Concerto, and hardly any of the chamber music. The Esterházy band owned MS. copies of Mozart's last three symphonies, but they can scarcely have been acquired in 1788-90 because there were no clarinets and no trumpets in the band and they could not have played K. 543 at all, and K. 551 only by feaving out the trumpet parts. (This raises the question how Haydn performed *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1790 at Eszterháza when his band had no clarinets . . .) Haydn might have seen the scores at Mozart's house. If the G minor Symphony was revised by the composer for the Tonkünstler Concerts in April 1791 to include clarinets, Haydn can only have seen the revised score at the widow's when he returned in 1792. There is no evidence that there were any performances of the G minor Symphony in Vienna in the years 1792-3, when Haydn was there. Haydn's use of the clarinets in No. 99 is nonetheless so idiomatic that one is astounded that he had never used the instruments in orchestral music before. It is interesting to note that the clarinets in this Symphony are much more freely used than in the other works of the 1794 season; for in No. 100 they figure only in the slow movement and in No. 101 they are used with extreme reticence. It was not until Haydn wrote another E flat Symphony, the "Drum Roll", that he allowed the clarinets so much freedom. Probably they were unexceptional players in London and their instruments rather crude, not nearly reaching the advanced level that we find even in the orchestral scores of Mozart's operas for the Viennese court theatres.

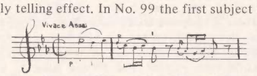
That Haydn appreciated the sustaining quality of the clarinet in its bottom register is shown by the opening of Symphony No. 99, where the second clarinet holds down low E flat (a sixth below middle C) as a pedal point under the rest of the orchestra, the bassoons rising above it as the *piano* enters.

During the 1791-2 season, Haydn had composed no symphonies in E flat, and he had never composed an E flat symphony with a large orchestra, that is with two flutes (rather than one) and with trumpets and kettledrums as well as clarinets. Compared even to the late-period Symphonies Nos. 84 (1786) and 91 (1788), No. 99 sounds immensely richer. E flat was always a favourite key of the Viennese classical style. In it, wind instruments take on a peculiarly satisfactory sonority, and even the trumpets, despite their high *tessitura*, blend excellently with the rest of the wind choir. Haydn here writes for the timpani in real sounding notation, and with a signature containing two flats; in the late-period B flat works with timpani, he uses a signature with one flat – a great innovation, this, because the timpani were usually written in transposing notation (C-G), as in Mozart's Symphony in E flat K. 543. In the two final E flat Symphonies of the second London series, Nos. 99 and 103, Haydn left to posterity the first symphonic works of the Viennese classical masters using that key with the full orchestra of the time. In this respect, too, they created a profound impression on Continental symphonic thought.

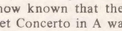
The slow introductions of the second Salomon set are miniature masterpieces. If they cannot be said to grow in size, they seem to grow in scope; they remain introductions but they manage to create for themselves an atmosphere all their own. In No. 104 there is even a complete, though miniature, ternary form. Here in No. 99, there are two distinct elements which, despite the *Adagio's* seemingly self-contained little form, look forward to the rest of the movement and to the rest of the Symphony. One is the curious thematic relationship with the main subject of the slow movement:

Here Haydn seems to be experimenting along the lines of what would later be known as the twelve-note technique, treating "rows" of notes as if they could be interchanged at will. To facilitate the reader's ability to see this interrelationship, we have transposed the *Urlinie* of the introduction into G major (placed in parentheses) next to that of the *Adagio*. The subtle relationship between the two melodic elements is further enhanced by the dotted rhythm which appears in both instances. Apart from this link to the slow movement's melody, we may note the modulation, *via* an enharmonic change from C flat to B natural and the incredible key of E minor, to the third-related key of C (in this case minor). The introduction seems to be leading permanently to C minor rather than E flat, and the dominant of C is stressed for four bars ending in a unison half-cadence wherein the note G is placed in a prominent light. This double stress of the principal third-related keys in E flat – C and G – looks forward to (1) the key of the slow movement in G major and (2) the key of the Trio in C major, which in turn is again brought to our vivid attention in a striking modulation to C major in the middle of the slow movement (bars 40 *et seq.* which we shall analyse later for other reasons). Haydn extricates himself suavely from his trend to C in the introduction by a long-held woodwind and horn chord on the dominant seventh of E flat, a reminder of the sonorous qualities of the solo wind choir in E flat on the one hand and, once again, a presage of the incredible wind band solo in the slow movement. In this introduction, however, all these hints about the future are done with great subtlety and are as nebulous (and as real) as the beginning of *Rheingold:* but in retrospect, it is "all there".

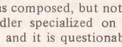
We noted, in the final Symphony of the 1792 season (No. 97), the fact that the second, third and final movements used subjects with upbeats to counteract the strong on-the-beat character of the first movement's main subject. The same delicate balance may now be observed in the organization of the first and second subjects of all those Symphonies in the second London set that begin with a movement in four-four or barred C; those beginning in six-eight time (Nos. 101 and 103) raise different problems which will be discussed later. Nos. 99, 100 and 104 all begin with squarely on-the-beat main subjects and all three have second subjects beginning on the fourth (or up-) beat. To accentuate the second subject's arrival in Nos. 99 and 100, Haydn begins with the accompaniment, as the Viennese waltz was to do countless times and with equally telling effect. In No. 99 the first subject begins:



and continues with a *tutti* in which Haydn's new and broad orchestral layout may be observed, even to a divided cello and bass part and a bassoon part independent of it. The horns and trumpets also have separate parts and altogether the score gives the impression of great attention to orchestral detail throughout. Haydn begins to break the four-four squareness of the theme even in the bridge passage. How he does it is typical. The first impetus is given by the timpani, which have at bar 33



the *fz* obviously (since no one else has it) to draw attention to itself. Immediately this new dotted rhythm is taken up by the other instruments at the interval of every two bars, while a new pattern emerges, viz.:



which alternates with the dotted rhythm quoted above. Consequently there is all during the long transition to the second subject a variety of rhythm which begins even at this early stage to act as a foil to the first subject, which keeps appearing either in fragments or in motivic derivatives. Such a melodic derivative even ushers in the second subject, where we note Haydn's new accent (>), taking the place of *fz*, now reserved for stronger effects. The delicate balance between the first and second subjects is maintained in the middle of the movement by the fact that once the development gets under way – after four bars based on the first subject's opening two bars – the first subject is never quoted directly until the recapitulation, and then without its *piano* beginning. In the coda, which is yet once more based on the irresistible second subject, the horns are used with great ingenuity. Horn II is used in the bottom register to accompany the second subject, using the stopped note sounding A flat (which means that this Continental technique, produced by inserting the right hand into the bell of the instrument to lower – in this case – the natural note B flat, had reached England by the 1790s). In the next *tutti* the first horn soars UP to sounding E flat[2], a sure way to increase orchestral tension (and it creates a quite different "inner" tension than if the same effect is given to the trumpet, as every student of Wagner's scores knows). Notice the sudden *ff* (bar 187) with which the first horn's high note coincides; like most *ff* markings in Haydn, they apply for a *limited* space of time, in this case about four bars (and a crotchet of a fifth). Still one more horn trick appears just before the end: the "walking" octaves that Haydn had already made famous in the Finale of the "Oxford" Symphony. Here (bars 191 *ff.*) they are given to second horn, as was the tradition, but also doubled by bassoon I; and this pattern is used to accompany the final reference to the first subject, which had been almost submerged after its brief reappearance in the recapitulation.

The *Adagio*, in the mediant (G major), is certainly one of the greatest slow movements Haydn ever composed. It is filled with an extraordinary wealth of detail and is also one of the most beautiful sounding adagios in all his late symphonies. The most striking thing in the first section, apart from the sheer beauty of the opening theme, is the big wind band solo that arises out of the establishment of the dominant key. It was carefully prepared beforehand, since the second part of the main subject was given to the solo woodwind. The wind band, in this case, consists of a solo flute, two oboes and two bassoons (later only one); the clarinets in C are used mostly to double the melody of the violins or for sustaining notes, but never alone. Clarinets in C were (and are, in so far as they are used at all, as in the occasional French provincial band) military instruments and their tone is rather strident; Haydn is thus careful to keep them in the background in a movement which, unlike No. 100's *Allegretto*, is not at all of a military but rather a songfully lyric character. We have noted in the Chronicle that the Press singled out this woodwind passage for special comment, and it must have made a profound impression not only on the London public but also all over the Continent (where many provincial orchestras will have experienced the same difficulty in playing it that we know was also the case when Mozart's operas began to circulate in the smaller towns of German-speaking Europe). The movement is in sonata form, and quite regularly constructed with another lyrical subject which is introduced after the famous wind band solo. There is then a double bar and the first section is to be repeated; it is an essential repeat, too, if the large second part, without repeats, is to appear in its correct proportion. There are 34 bars of the first part and 64 of the second, or very nearly double the length.

Haydn has scored the movement up to now for flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns and strings. The trumpets and timpani are silent. But now Haydn introduces a gigantic orchestral surprise (which, typically, coincides with a harmonic turn that he wished to stress: the introduction of C major, which was mentioned above, in connection with the beginning of the Symphony). The second part starts for strings only, continuing a thought from the second subject's conclusion. A large orchestral *crescendo* coincides with a slow, measure-for-measure modulation into C major, and when Haydn reaches a point where it is harmonically feasible, to wit bar 40, he marks the whole orchestra *ff* and the timpani enter, also *ff*, with stupendous effect. (The general *ff* does not extend, in a stroke of Mahlerian subtlety, to the horns and trumpets, which are "filling" and are not supposed to drown out the other wind instruments; the timpani's *ff* is a theatrical effect, of course.) The entrance of the trumpets and timpani is obviously a grandiose gesture, and it is also primarily one of colour. The timpani are tuned in C and G, and the trumpets are in C, which means that without any question their entrance, and tuning, were designed for this particular moment, though Haydn very cleverly uses both instruments later in the movement despite their unnatural tuning: unnatural, actually, only for the timpani since the trumpets would not have been in G (see our comments about the "Surprise" Symphony's first version, *supra*). It is a measure of Haydn's incredible skill that we hardly notice at the end of the movement that the drums are in the tonic and *sub*dominant. He also manages to create a very sinister effect later in the movement by having the horns and trumpets batter out a jarring accompaniment in seconds. The texture of Haydn's fabric has become very closely woven by this time: the frightened "jumping" bass line comes from the bass line at the very close of the exposition (bar 33). It was, after all, a Symphony in Time of War . . .

Haydn's symphonic minuets become steadily more sophisticated in 1793-5. After experimenting with speeding up the dance form in the Symphonies of the 1792 season (Nos. 93, 94, 98), Haydn now returns to the slower *Allegretto* tempo for the works of the 1794 season, even going as far as *Moderato* in No. 100 (where the tempo has other considerations, however, which will be examined *infra*). Slowing up the tempo in this fashion allows Haydn to be massively symphonic on the one hand – quite the opposite of the light, fleeting one-in-a-bar scherzos of Beethoven's Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2 – while on the other he can easily slip into the kind of *Ländler* that we find towards the end of the first part of No. 99's *Menuet*. Here we find the basses pushing out a *forzato* at the beginning of every bar, just as in today's Tyrolean dance band, while part of the wind band indulges in the rhythm that the *Ländler* was to bequeath to the waltz. To break this tap-room beat, Haydn uses *inter alia* the trumpets and timpani; the timpani hit the first crotchet and then move into a kind of semiquaver roll for four bars, while the trumpets have a pattern extending over two bars, The whole section is a study in Haydn's method of adepting Austrian dance rhythms for (as it were) the international concert public, something in which Johann Strauss was also to become a great expert. This passage does not return again: it is an effect that Haydn considered should be used only once. The second part of the minuet form has now become a kind of development-*cum*-recapitulation in sonata form style, but of course on a very limited scale; here, fragments of the minuet's main theme are used to modulate through G flat major (never reached in its root position) and G minor to the "recapitulation". The restatement is no simple *da capo* any longer but continues the development, just as in Haydn's own larger movements in sonata form. The wind section is used differently, and this time the horns have their own accompaniment, the first horn rising to sounding G[2].

The Trio is introduced by a little oboe flourish on the note G, a pivot from E flat to C major, in which latter key the Trio is written. It is a melancholy little dance, for oboe solo (later with bassoon solo) and strings, *legato* and singing (the oboe is marked *cantabile*). There is a long lead-back to the *Menuet* (with some pretty clarinet writing) in which Haydn gradually shifts the phrasing and accents from the Trio's rhythm to that of the *Menuet*.

As a piece of music, the Finale is as typical of Haydn's late-period finales as anything in the last dozen symphonies. Cast in the usual sonata-rondo form (*i.e.* returning to the tonic before the development starts), it has two subjects, both full of mirth and wit. The second is based upon the first in a vague way, much as Haydn's slow introductions offer us the cloudy contours of themes and patterns to come. The subsidiary theme includes solo passages for all the woodwind and also the horns. In the recapitulation even the second horn has a solo, which reminds us once again that all the great masters of the Viennese classical school, even Beethoven, were fond of writing solo sections for the stepchildren of the orchestra: thus, Mozart for the second trumpet in one of the trios of the "Haffner" Serenade K. 250 or Beethoven for the posthorn in the delightful 1795 Dances for the Redoutensaal (or indeed the fourth horn in the Ninth Symphony's slow movement). In the development we are treated to a closely worked contrapuntal display of the first theme, the beginning even *in stretto* at the interval of one bar and the end combining the theme *recte* and in inversion. In the middle of the recapitulation there is a series of *fermate* and the main subject is treated

to a mock-serious excursion, a pseudo-sentimental journey which actually slows down to *adagio* (bar 187). The same thing had happened in Symphony No. 97's *Finale*, where the effect was perhaps more on mock-heroic lines; but here, like everything else in the movement including the vigorous contrapuntal treatment in the development, the result is a grand parody. As all these effects whirl past us, we are scarcely aware of the terrific concentration and expert craftsmanship that enabled this *Vivace* to sound as light as it does. As in all such quick Haydn finales, the movement is put together with great structural economy, so that there is not one bar too many.

Symphony No. 100 in G ("Military") (1794)

We may suspect that such a work as the "Surprise" Symphony was written, as it were, round the famous slow movement; with No. 100 we know this to have been the case. And not only that: Haydn composed, or in the case of the slow movement rewrote, the middle movements before he started the outer parts of the Symphony. He began with the *Allegretto*, which from bars 1-148 and 151-2 (up to the trumpet solo) comes from Concerto No. 3 (VIIh:3) in G for the King of Naples, second movement, marked "Romance: Allegretto". It is scored for the two lire parts, accompanied by two violins, two violas, and bass line. The Concerto was first published in 1932 by Edition Adler in Berlin, edited by Karl Geiringer, and again in 1959, directly from the authentic score in the Esterházy Archives, by the present writer (Diletto Musicale 43, Doblinger). The latter edition is in print and may be consulted for a detailed comparison with the "Military" slow movement. We shall examine some of the changes Haydn made *infra*. The autograph of the second movement has not survived with that to the rest of the Symphony (Esterházy Archives), possibly because there was none in the strict sense. It may be that Haydn had Elssler copy the score of the Concerto's *Romance* on large-sized paper and made the necessary changes on the copy. In any case, the original manuscript, whatever it was, of the famous "Military Movement" has disappeared; having been the most celebrated piece of music Haydn wrote during the second London sojourn, he may have left it in England as a keepsake.

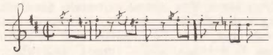
The first of the other movements that Haydn composed was the *Menuet*. At least the autograph is written on Italian paper such as Haydn used in Vienna in 1793, while the first and last movements are on British paper. Having almost a quick piece – the tempo is *Allegretto* – with all sorts of extra effects (Turkish music, clarinets, trumpet solo, and so on) as his "slow movement", Haydn took care to write a slow *Menuet (Moderato)* so that in a certain sense the two middle movements could act together as a block round which he could fashion the first and last sections. A very quick minuet such as that in the "Surprise" (*Allegro molto*) or even one of the *Allegro* minuets in the other works of 1791-5 would have meant that there was hardly any "slow" music at all; thus, the deliberate slow tempo and the accent on the quavers rather than the crochets such as was the case with No. 99. In No. 100 we have, then, a case of Haydn's deliberately focussing attention on the "Military Movement" not only by the more obvious means which we shall discuss shortly but also in the organization of the other movements. By now, he was a supreme master of the popular style; in No. 100 he created his greatest triumph, at least as far as the European public of the day was concerned. Although it was later to be rivalled by the "Surprise", until 1805 or thereabouts the "Military" was the most popular symphony ever composed. Before 1803 it was published in parts by (in alphabetical order) André (two editions, the first in 1799) in Offenbach/Main, Artaria of Vienna, Gombart of Augsburg, Hummel of Berlin and Amsterdam, Imbault of Paris, Monzani & Comador in London (using André's plates), Pleyel in Paris, Sieber in Paris and in numerous arrangements all over Europe. It was the example *par excellence* of a composition being totally integrated in the society that first heard it; perhaps it was the last time in musical history when the public completely understood and appreciated great music at its first performance. From Beethoven to Stockhausen and from Schubert to Berio, the fatal gap has always since existed.

Haydn's introduction (*Adagio*) is once again attached to the rest of the Symphony by various thematic associations. The first is the delicate relation between the introduction's opening "theme" and the *Allegro's* first subject. It will be seen that the introduction's melody rises from D^2 to G^2 and back to D^2, and that we then have the interval A^1 B^1 twice:

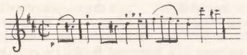
The next point of connection is the large and ominous *crescendo* that begins in G minor at bar 14 and continues to the *ff* in bar 16, bringing in the whole orchestra with a timpani roll. The strings then lapse into *p* and another *crescendo* begins at bar 18. This double *crescendo*, either directly in the minor key or in a modulation leading to a minor key, is distinctly freighted with a heavy sense of foreboding. The same pattern, much extended, appears at the beginning of the development section: a double *crescendo* (bars 137-8, 150-1) in and leading to the minor in both cases, with the same underlying feeling of foreboding. Finally, there is a sharply (in some cases double) dotted, French Overture rhythm that grows more insistent as the Introduction unfolds; it reappears throughout the Trio.

The first subject of the *Allegro*, which we have quoted above when it reappears in the strings, is first given only to solo flute and two oboes; it is a fascinating sound, looking forward to the "toy" music of Rimsky-Korsakov and the ballet music of Tchaikovsky. The scoring, or rather the layout, of the first *tutti* shows how much Salomon's great orchestra has influenced Haydn the composer: solid middle parts in slow motion (horns, trumpets, viola); the second violins in a "broken" pattern of quavers which then unobtrusively slide into a slower motion, doubling the first oboe and strengthening its interesting countersubject; the cello pounding out the bass line in "walking" octaves and the bass itself providing an impetus to each first beat by dropping an octave. It is symphonic scoring which sounds brilliant and uses the whole orchestra to every instrument's individual advantage.

The second subject has been likened to the "Radetzky March" by Johann Strauss the Elder, composed in the aftermath of the Viennese revolution of March 1848. Even writers who did not sense the relationship noted, as did H.E. Jacob in his book on the Strauss family, that the "[Radetzky March] has something familiar about it." Our idea of military music is, as anyone who has examined Haydn's marches knows, quite different from that of the late eighteenth century as well as the period up to 1848 known to Austrian history as the *Vormärz* "(pre-March"). But if Strauss sounded military with



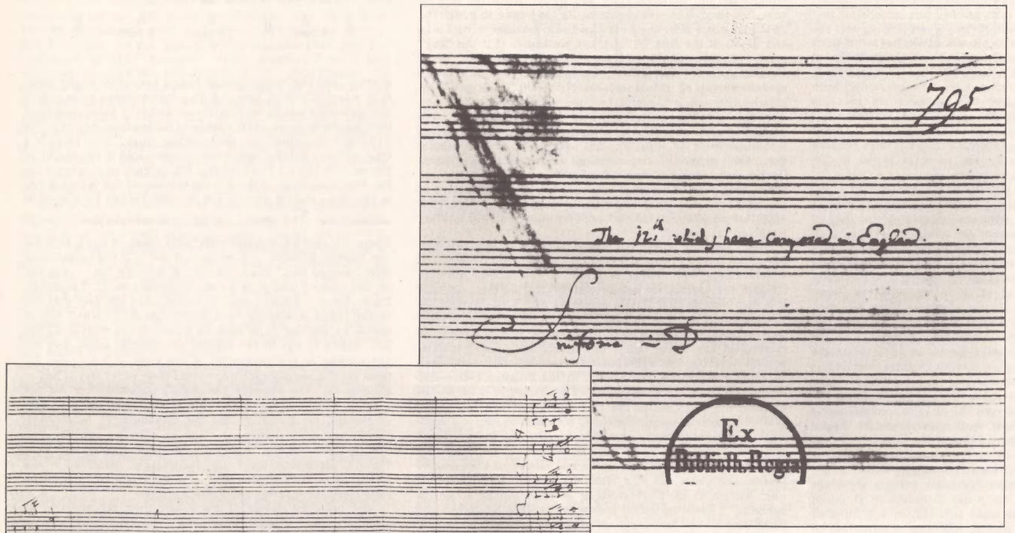
perhaps Haydn's theme

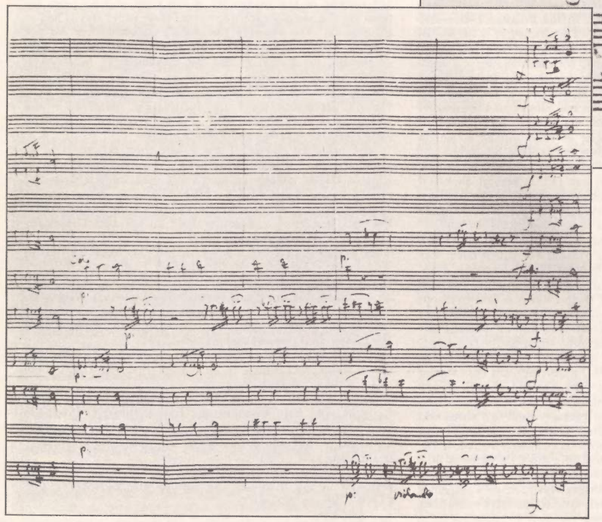


sounded military to the public of 1794 *et seq.* At any rate, it certainly sounded like a popular tune, and it was introduced, like the second subject of No. 99/I, with a taproom accompaniment over a *pizzicato* bass. Of course Strauss was deliberately quoting Haydn: the time (barred C) and the key, D major (because in the Haydn we are now in the dominant) is the same, and besides, No. 100 was still a very popular Symphony in *Vormärz* Vienna. But perhaps both Haydn and Strauss were not writing military music at all. In those days of revolution in 1848, Haydn's music sounded to many like a lost paradise. Franz Gernerth wrote: "Just after the three days in March I played several Haydn symphonies on the piano with a friend, and I cannot describe what a sorrowful *[wehmütigen]* feeling these magnificent masterpieces made on me. Their message sounded to me like a paradise of freedom in this time of oppression . . ." Can Johann Strauss, Father, have been quoting Haydn in this sense rather than linking a "Military Symphony" with a military man (*i.e.* Radetzky)?

That Haydn intended something curiously ambivalent with his "Radetzky" subject is made abundantly clear in the development section: ambivalent in two senses. First, because the innocent-sounding theme immediately begins to take on the ominous character of the *crescendo* in the introduction, and secondly, because all the modulations and *crescendi* lead to quite different tonal goals than the music first allows us to believe. Notice another link to the introduction, namely that a timpani roll accompanies the climax of each of the two modulations, just as the drums underlined the first of all these threatening *crescendi*. The tonal ambivalence takes place as follows. The exposition ends in D and after two full bars of silence (and three beats of another bar as well), the second theme begins in B flat but soon starts to establish C minor. Here the first *crescendo* begins. At its climax, with a kettledrum roll, the music shifts suddenly away from C minor into D minor, but all through this series of modulations there are almost no chords in a root position so that each key that Haydn establishes seems uncertain and even menaced by the next modulation. The momentum starts again, *piano*, in D minor (though still not in root position), and the same *crescendo* is repeated a note higher, with the same climax, timpani roll and sudden change towards E minor, the arrival of which is procrastinated by seventeen bars. It is not until Haydn settles into E minor that we begin to sense its relative major, and our tonic, round the corner. The recapitulation is chopped short to such an extent that we are suspicious: the exposition ran for 100 bars, of which the last 17 bars were "closing material", or the final *tutti*, while the recapitulation runs – first and second subject, with all the truncated bridge passages – to 37 bars. What Haydn is doing is to prepare for the biggest and most flamboyant coda of his symphonic *oeuvre* hitherto. This spectacular conclusion starts out its promising course by jumping without preparation into E flat, the flattened submediant. This, too, was foretold at the beginning of the development, where Haydn moved from D to its flattened submediant and gave us a large grand pause to help us remember the effect. In these fifty bars we are treated to a display of orchestral fireworks unprecedented in Haydn's career. We are even given the intoxicating sound of the violins racing away in quavers with only the sound of horns, trumpets and kettledrums hammering out tonic and dominant chords behind them (bars 256-8 with lead-in and lead-out). It is one of the first times that a symphony orchestra was used as a pure, virtuoso instrument and as such it presages many such pages in the nineteenth century; but through it all we are constantly aware of previous thematic fragments and derivatives. It is virtuosity on a magnificent scale, but never empty virtuosity.

Once Haydn saved the trumpets and drums until the slow movement of a symphony (it was No. 88, 1787); their entrance must have electrified musicians all over Europe. In No. 99 we have seen a similar instance of withholding these instruments until the middle of the second movement. In No. 100. Haydn does an equally unprecedented orchestral trick, or rather a double trick. In the first place he introduces two clarinets in C, which play only in the *Allegretto*. In the second, he has arranged a battery of "Turkish" instruments such as were used by Austrian composers in exotic operas with Turkish subjects; this percussion group enters the fray together with the trumpets and kettledrums when the music turns from C major to C minor at bar 57. There are two sets of percussion parts: (1) those contained in the authentic set of MS. parts by Johann Elssler in the Esterházy Archives, a source which is textually very close to the Birchall print; the reader is referred to the notes in Vol. XII of the Philharmonia Complete Haydn Symphonies for further details. Since these percussion parts are indubitably genuine, we have included





Symphony No. 104 in D, "London"

These are the first three pages of the autograph manuscript, including the title page where Haydn writes as a subtitle.... "The twelfth I have composed in England." Preussiche, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

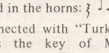
them, and only them in the new critical edition. On the Elssler title page, a "Tambourine" is mentioned but there is no part for it in the MS.. Perhaps it improvised a part reading over the shoulder of one of the percussion players. Elssler has actual parts for triangle, cymbals and bass drum. (2) The textually different parts contained in the earliest André and other German, French and Austrian prints. The interested reader may consult both percussion parts, Elssler's and the Germans', in the new edition of *Joseph Haydn Werke* (Henle Verlag, "Londoner Sinfonien, 3. Folge"). Since no concrete evidence as to the authenticity of *any* of these German prints has been brought forward, we believe that only the parts as found in the Elssler MS. have a claim to complete genuineness. Since the percussion parts were often left out of MS. and printed copies of the work, we wonder if those of the German prints are not "improvised" by someone who remembered where they all entered but could not remember the actual "notes" (if such can describe percussion parts). Unfortunately our only autograph of this second movement, as a March for wind band and "tamburo", does not help us in solving this particular problem. For a clever piece of arranging, however, music lovers should not miss this March, which was first published in the afore-mentioned Henle edition.

Haydn completely reorchestrated the "Romance" of the Concerto, dropping the title as he did so. In 1786, when the Concerto was composed, Haydn was much interested in the *Romance,* using an old French song, "La gentille et jeune Lisette" as the basis for the *Romance* in the Symphony No. 85 ("La Reine") composed about 1785 or 1786 for Le Concert de la Loge Olympique in Paris. Both movements are themes and variations on the melody, and that of the Concerto for the King of Naples also sounds like a French folk-song. In 1785, Mozart and Haydn were particularly intimate, and it is not surprising to find the younger composer using a *Romanze* as the slow movement of the piano Concerto in D minor K. 466, first performed the night that Haydn was initiated into the Freemasons. The simple, folk-song construction of the typical Romance's theme is also found in Beethoven's two beautiful Romances for violin and orchestra (1798).

Not only did Haydn reorchestrate the *Romance,* he also had to compose new inner parts as he did so. Perhaps the most striking alteration concerns the endings of the individual sections in the Concerto. Haydn originally had three crotchet rests of silence in such places (bars 8, 16, 36, 56, *etc.*) which are in the "Military" version deftly filled – so deftly, in fact, that the earlier version sounds empty once we have assimilated the later one into our unconscious minds. Who can imagine

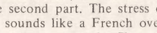
after having heard the later version?

There is no doubt that the "Military" text is vastly smoother and more poised "at the joints"; even where the original had something to connect two sections, such as the minim at bar 44, Haydn later added a rhythmic lead in the horns:

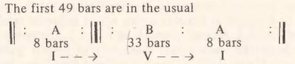


The use of C major is also connected with "Turkish" or "Janissary" instruments: it was the key of Mozart's *Entführung* where there are also C clarinets. For Haydn, this almost chamber-musical use of the wind instruments (before the "Turkish" instruments enter) also reminded him of another set of works for the King of Naples, namely the Notturni, which in their original orchestration had many of the elements found in the second movement of No. 100: 2 lire, 2 clarinets in C and divided violas (the lira parts would be divided up, in a reorchestration, between flute and oboe). Once the original sound of these solo wind instruments has begun to penetrate, and this occurs after their extensive solo sections in bars 1-16 and 36-56 of the first "A" section, we realize that the "toy" music of the opening *Allegro,* for solo flute and oboes unaccompanied, was nothing but another one of Haydn's announcements of things-to-come. It might be noted how utterly different is the effect of the solo wind band here – martial, witty, light-footed and even rather exotic-sounding – compared with the romantic, *legato* wind band solo in the solo movement of No. 99. The *Allegretto* thus continues the "toy" music of the opening *Allegro,* leading us even further into some "Sleeping Beauty" world of unreality and marmalade skies. This great emphasis on the wind section of the orchestra was what undoubtedly suggested to Haydn to make an arrangement of this popular movement for military band and "tamburo".

The Concerto movement ended at bar 152 but two bars have been added (146 and 147) in the symphonic version. The solo trumpet call, which is given to the second trumpet (though the sources are not absolutely clear on this point and it is just possible that Haydn meant "a due"), has a curiously sinister sound by being so low. The fanfare seems to have been well known. Whether it was Austrian or British cannot be established any more, but it was clearly an "Allied" fanfare. Arnold Schering, the well-known German scholar, maintained that the fanfare was still known to the Prussian (=German) cavalry in 1939 as "Paradepost". The drum roll is known to us from the *crescendi* in the first movement and becomes a symbol of unrest, uneasiness, fear. We shall encounter it again as it is presented here: solo. The unexpected use of A flat major to follow this drum roll on the note C also increases the feeling of anxiety: this is the real climax of the trumpet fanfare and drum roll – a "false resolution" like the art of war. Audiences of 1794 shivered at this "climax of horrid sublimity". Even the actual ending is preceded by ambivalent harmonies – A flat keeps entering the resolution into C major (bar 179 in the bassoon, bar 181 in second oboe and bassoon): the parallel was obvious to everyone in the audience at Hanover Square Rooms that March night in 1794 when "shouts of applause" greeted the conclusion of the *Allegretto.*

The construction of the *Menuet* is unusual, first because of its slow tempo *(Moderato),* the reasons for which have been discussed above, and secondly because the first section is not repeated and ends in the tonic. Actually this "A" section consists in itself of an eight-bar theme which is first given out *forte* and then *piano,* with different inner parts, different articulation (bar 3 quavers *staccati* and bar 11 slurred) and different orchestration. This places the stress on the (repeated) second section, and a very symphonic treatment of the material. It is more like a sonata-form development than almost any of the other minuets of the 1791-2 season, though we can see the trend in many of the previous works. It was, however, not carried this far. The quaver passage which we noted was phrased differently when repeated in the "A" section is now used as a counterpoint in the bottom and inner voices. If the *Menuet* is serious, the Trio sounds once more an alarming note in the second part. The stress on the dotted rhythm that so much sounds like a French overture was perhaps a reference to the enemy across the Channel; no one can have missed the martial undercurrent to the  rhythm or the reference to G minor.

If we judge the middle movements of No. 100 as an entity, and the sources to allow that, the *Finale* must occupy a position of special importance. Not only does it restore the fast tempo of the opening barred-C *Allegro* – for, as we have seen, the two middle movements are moderately quick but never slow – but it is the longest final quick movement in any Haydn symphony to date except for No. 98, which is even longer: we say "quick movement" because earlier works with slow sections such as No. 45 or 67 do not fall into this particular category. No. 100's *Presto* is also on a huge formal scale. The first 49 bars are in the usual



scheme, and the bridge-passage begins thereafter in the tonic. It is a sonata rondo, then, on an unprecedented scale, with a very extended middle section (if one wishes to lump everything that Haydn does into this category) lasting from bar 50 to bar 218 (the recapitulation, with upbeat from 217). There is a final and particularly "shocking" timpani solo in the middle of this section (bars 122-3), after a big cadence in D major. Like the first movement of No. 45, the second subject is introduced in this huge middle section and is characterized by a series of *acciaccature* The timpani solo ushers in the development, where we find an exceptionally wide range of keys, even for late Haydn: D major – F major – A flat – D flat (enharmonically changed to C sharp minor) – E major (F flat) – E minor (F flat minor) and back to the dominant of G. The strong third-related tendency will be noted, also the fact that the recapitulation is actually in A double-flat major which Haydn avoids by shifting from flats to sharps in the middle. At bar 265 Haydn brings in the Turkish instruments again; they are not marked in the autograph, where there was no room for them on the already crowded twelve-stave paper Haydn had at his disposal. The *Morning Chronicle's* correspondent did not approve of the cymbals (by which he meant all the extra percussion, no doubt) in this last movement (5 May 1794). Haydn obviously thought it made an effective conclusion to this extroverted but brilliantly planned Symphony. (The *Finale's* percussion parts are, fortunately, preserved in the Elssler parts at Budapest, also in slightly altered form in the early German, Austrian and French prints.)

The principal theme of the *Finale* soon proved to be as popular as the "Military Movement". It is apparently a case in which a Haydn melody became a folk-tune, known, variously, *as* LORD CATHCART'S WELCOME in *Treasures of Terpsichore* . . . being a Collection of all the most popular Country Dances . . . together with all the new Dances for 1809. By T. Wilson, London, 1809.

as LORD CATHCART'S WELCOME TO SCOTTLAND in *Wheatstone's Selection* of Elegant and Fashionable Country Dances, Reels, Waltzs *[sic], etc.* for the Ensuing Season, with an Accompt. for the Piano Forte or Harp by Augs. Voigt, *etc.* Sold by C. Mitchell, at his Musical Circulating Library and Instrument Ware rooms, 51, Southampton Row, Russel *[sic]* Sque. (*n.d.,* but between 1808-1814).

as LORD CATHCART in a manuscript book of country dance tunes, *etc.* which is not earlier than the first decade or so of the nineteenth century.

Lord Cathcart is presumably Sir William Shaw, tenth Baron Cathcart, and first Viscount and Earl Cathcart (1755-1843) who after a distinguished military career was created Viscount Cathcart in 1807 and appointed C. in C. Scotland presumably in the same year.

No. 100 was one of the first Haydn symphonies to be reviewed in the then new *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (April 1799, pp. 422-4):

RECENSION
Grande Simphonie à plusieurs Instruments, composée par J. Haydn.
Oeuvre 9. Augsbourg chez Gombart et Comp. (Prix 3 Fl.)

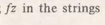
The fashion in which *J. Haydn* composed symphonies is as well known and well appreciated as almost anything in the musical world. It would be therefore quite unnecessary to say anything further about this Symphony, composed in London by the great master, except that it is one of the finest he has written. It is somewhat less learned, and easier to take in, than some of the other newest works by him, but it is just as rich in new ideas as they. The effect of surprise cannot perhaps be pushed further than it is here, when in the second movement we are utterly surprised by the full Janissary music in the minore – up to that point, one had no idea that these Turkish instruments were part of the Symphony's scoring. But here, too, we see not only the inventive but also the prudent artist. The Andante *[recte: Allegretto]* is in fact conceived as a whole: for despite all the pleasantness and lightness with which the composer in the first part attempts to distract attention from the coming coup, it is laid out and worked out like a march. That at least should be a hint to imitators, who no doubt are at this very moment planning to shower us with symphonies with Turkish music . . . [There then follows a list of appalling printer's errors, "not even mentioning many a smaller error".]

Symphony No. 101 in D ("The Clock") (1794)

This is the third of four D major Salomon Symphonies. There are many obvious advantages to the key, not least its sonority for the strings where the empty strings are useful in chords, but also its fine effect for the brass and timpani. A large part of Professor Jan LaRue's thematic catalogue of all eighteenth century symphonies is in D major, and two of Mozart's last six symphonies (K. 385, 504) are in that key. It was very much a "public" key in the eighteenth century, though not so much in Austria (where big Church Masses, festive symphonies and "Applausus" cantatas tended to be in C major) as in Germany and Italy.

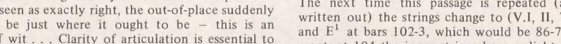
Symphony No. 98 had opened with a slow introduction in the tonic minor, and Haydn now repeats the idea in No. 101 and later in No. 104. The mysterious, portentous D minor opening is unique in Haydn's symphonies hitherto: it is orchestrated in "grey" tones, too – no clarinets, no brass and timpani. Thematic illusions to the *Presto* are as clouded as the mists that seem to surround the introduction. The slowly rising scale at the beginning might seem to be the ghostly predecessor of the *Presto's* first theme.

Six-eight is a most unusual tempo for an opening movement. Haydn had tried the effect in Symphony No. 67 in F, a work of great originality and daring which also has a *Finale* with a large slow insert. Six-eight was, in the 1760s, rather a Finale tempo (as in Haydn's Symphony No. 16) and became in the 1780s an equally successful conclusion on a larger scale, such as Mozart's "hunting" rondos (in the horn concertos or the piano Concerto in E flat K. 482) which were, in turn, based on Haydn's "La Chasse" *Finale* of Symphony No. 73 (published at Vienna in July 1782). Mozart, perhaps as a compliment to the older man, wrote the first movement of the B flat "Hunt" Quartet (K. 458), one of the six dedicated to Haydn, in six-eight. In No. 101's opening *Presto* we have a six-eight movement on the largest possible scale (over 300 bars, the exposition to be repeated). Haydn has of course realized the "light" metric nature of six-eight – which is why it is an ideal finale metre – and the thematic material of the movement is so light as to be almost inconsequential until we realize Haydn's broad scheme. The nature of the opening subject required the broad introduction with which Haydn provided it; only after this expanse of D minor could the anacrustic opening theme make any impression. Because of the movement's thematic frailty, he begins extending the main subject motivically, developing it, all during the very long bridge passage to the dominant. This is nothing unusual in late Haydn symphonies, but the extent and depth of this development so early in the movement shows us that Haydn is compensating for his metre by heavily symphonic treatment. The second subject is no contrast at all to the first: he makes things as difficult as possible for himself. Yet because the second subject seems to grow out of the foregoing material, there is a sense of unity throughout. The elaboration of all the motivic fragments is so fascinating and proceeds at such a dizzy pace that one soon forgets how slender is all the actual material from which this massive symphonic edifice is constructed. There are also interesting dynamic effects which serve to propel the music forward, such as two different uses of *ff.* On the one hand, Haydn uses the marking towards the end of the exposition only in the horns, trumpets and kettledrums to bring them

into the foreground and thus infuse the already rich and agile score with a sudden blaze of colour. Another use of *ff* is to lash out at a bold modulation, such as occurs at bar 190 in the middle of the development section; again, we must remember that *ff* in Haydn's scores are of short duration (as can be seen by the fact that he is able to use *fz* for the wind parts in the same bar; *fz* in the strings would, however, have meant  to most players, whereas *ff* meant a louder [loudest] level throughout all six notes). The *ff* leads, as it were, to the entrance of the clarinets, horns, trumpets and timpani, which have been silent for half-a-dozen bars and add one further wave of sound to the *ff (fz)* climax. The passage is remarkable for the attention to orchestral detail which characterizes this robust, vigorous yet delicately balanced *Presto.*

The second movement, *Andante,* has given the Symphony its name, "The Clock". Considering that it is one of Haydn's most played works, surprisingly few people have gone to the trouble of investigating either the Symphony as a whole or even the form of the *Andante.* In 1798, the Viennese publisher Johann Traeg issued the movement in a piano arrangement entitled "Rondo . . . Die Uhr". Rondo is in fact the nearest description of this new and fascinating hybrid form that Haydn has created for this *Andante.* On paper it looks like a typical Haydn finale, for example that of Symphony No. 96: the same A-B-A opening section followed by a big "minore" ("C") and a return to the "A" section. But whereas in a typical finale the return to the "A" section is fairly regular, here the presentation of "A" following the "minore" is radically different. It is actually so different that Geiringer (1947, 290) describes the movement as a "mixture of variation and rondo". This is particularly true of what happens after the "minore": the "A" section is given with a completely different orchestration (theme in the first violins, the accompaniment so laid out that it straddles the first violin by having the "tick-tock" split up at the interval of two octaves instead of thirds). The beginning is a stroke of genius, with its clock-like accompaniment. But the variation with the straddled violin theme is even more brilliantly original. Writing about this kind of language in general, Rosen notes that "The buffoonery of Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart is only an exaggeration of an essential quality of the classical style. This style was, in its origins, basically a comic one. I do not mean that sentiments of the deepest and most tragic emotion could not be expressed by it, but the pacing of classical rhythm is the pacing of comic opera, its phrasing is the phrasing of dance music, and its large structures are these phrases dramatized . . . If the taste for the comic in music grew in the second half of the eighteenth century, this was at least in part because the development of style had at last made a genuinely autonomous wit possible. The incongrous seen as exactly right, the out-of-place suddenly turning out to be just where it ought to be – this is an essential part of wit . . . Clarity of articulation is essential to this kind of comedy. The contrast between the melodic and accompanying parts in classical style . . . allows us the delicious moment in Haydn's *Clock* Symphony when the accompaniment is transposed into the upper register [and] where the double meaning is made even more evident by giving the figure to the solo flute and bassoon."

Tracing the formal scheme of the movement thus far we have:



There then follows a bar of silence; the main theme then begins in E flat, modulates to the tonic and a new statement of the "A" section begins which, unlike the fragmentary statement in E flat, turns out to be a complete A^1-B^1-A^1. There then follows a bar of silence; the main theme then begins in E flat, modulates to the tonic and a new statement of the "A" section begins which, unlike the fragmentary statement in E flat, turns out to be a complete A^2-B^2-A^2 with a concluding coda; this final time, the principal tripartite statement is for full orchestra (strings *ff*) the first time (A^2) and again for full orchestra the last time, but slightly differently orchestrated (higher trumpets and a new, penetrating timpani part, *inter alia*). Thus the graph is only very approximate and can give but an inadequate idea of Haydn's apparently limitless ingenuity, wit and craftsmanship. The "C" section is also a not very accurate description of an extremely powerful "minore" which is closely based on rhythmic figures already known to us; the dotted "Baroque" pattern of bar 4, the "clock" accompaniment and the demi-semiquavers of bar 3.

The *Menuet* of Symphony No. 101 is the longest of all twelve Salomon Symphonies. We are no friends of long rows of statistics, but in this particular case a list of the bar lengths of all twelve works shows two facts at once: the prodigious length of No. 101's third movement and also Haydn's incredible variety. As far as the length is concerned, No. 97 has no repeats either in the Minuet or in the Trio, and thus only Nos. 99 and 102 – both highly developed symphonic minuets – come anywhere near the scope of No. 101.

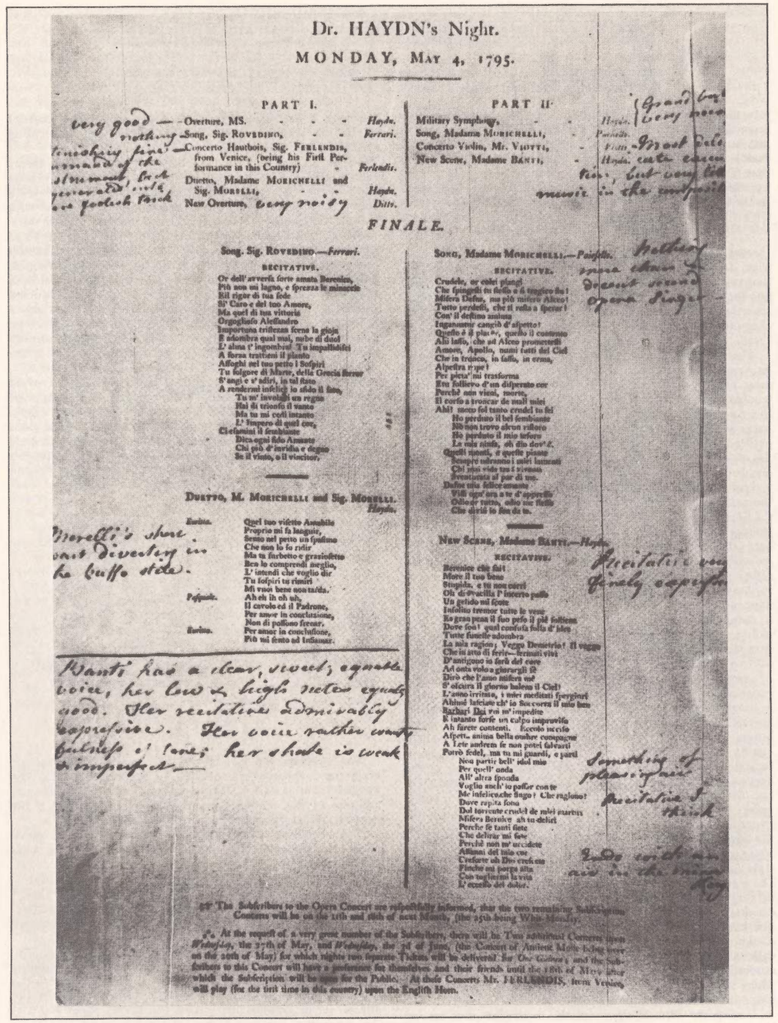
Symphony	Minuet	Trio
93	46	52
94	62	27
95	56	28
96	52	32
97 (no repeats)	68	48
98	60	41
99	68	50
100	56	24 (first part minuet: no repeat)
101	80	80 (first part trio: no repeat)
102	66	40
103	48	32
104	52	52

The richness and variety of "The Clock's" Minuet are everywhere apparent – not least in the orchestration. The divided violas at bars 4/8 (later repeated in the recapitulation) are rare in this context, and even more unexpected is the timpani solo at the beginning of the second section.

The beginning of the Trio has been the cause of much controversy among scholars and musicians. Here is what Haydn wrote: *(see above)*

The next time this passage is repeated (and the repeat is written out) the strings change to (V.I, II, Va.) G^2, C sharp^1 and E^1 at bars 102-3, which would be 86-7 in the first statement; at 104 the inner strings have a slight difference because of the previous part-writing.

Now there is no question about Haydn's intentions. The autograph is not only clear but the repeated bars are numbered over the first violin part. The dissonant version is also in the Elssler copy of the score (Esterházy Archives) and in the original set of London String parts (on British paper and with the musicians' names on the title pages – see our short catalogue, *supra*) which form part of the authentic MS. parts in the Esterházy Archives. This was also the version that Haydn sent to Donaueschingen Castle. Later, however, some-



Dr. HAYDN's Night.

MONDAY, May 4, 1795.

PART I.

Overture, MS. - - - *Haydn.*
Song, Sig. Rovedino, - - *Ferrari.*
Concerto Hautbois, Sig. Ferlendis, from Venice, (being his First Performance in this Country) - *Ferlendis.*
Duetto, Madame Moricheli and Sig. Morelli, - - *Haydn.*
New Overture, - - *Ditt.*

PART II.

Military Symphony, - - *Haydn.*
Song, Madame Moricheli, - *Pacsiello.*
Concerto Violin, Mr. Viotti, - *Viotti.*
New Scene, Madame Banti, - *Haydn.*

FINALE.

Song. Sig. Rovedino.—*Ferrari.*

RECITATIVE.

Or dell' avverfa forte amata Berenice,
Più non mi lagno, e fprezza le minaccie
Ril rigor di tua fede
Il Cielo e dei tuo Amore,
Ma quel di tua vittoria
Orgoglioso Aleffandro
Importuna trifezza forza la gioja
Il adombra qual nui, nube di duol
L' alma t' impondvi. Tu impallidisci
A forza trattieni il pianto
Affoghi nel tuo petto i fofpiri
Tu fulgore di Marte, della Grecia ftrane
S' angi e s' adiri, in tal fazo
A rendermi infelici io sfido il fato,
Tu m' involasti un regno
Hai di vittoria il vanto
Ma tu mi cedi intanto
L' Impero di quel core,
Ch'adoni il fembiante
Dica ogni fido Amante
Chi più d' Aleffio e degno
Se il Vinto, o il Vincitore.

Duetto, M. Moricheli and Sig. Morelli. *Haydn.*

Eurice. Quel tuo vidtto Aemilio
Progetto mi fa languire,
Sento nel petto un fpafimo
Che non fo fo ridir
Mia tu fiarbetto e grazioletto
Ren lo comprendi meglio,
L' intendi che voglio dir
Tu fofpiri ti rimiri
Mi vuoi bene non tatda.
Ah eh ih ih oh,
Il cavolo ed il Padrone,
Per amor in confufione,
Non di poffono ferear,
Eurice. Per amor in confufione,
Più mi fento mi influenar.

Song, Madame Moricheli.—*Paiſiello.*

RECITATIVE.

Crudele, or cofei piangi
Che fpingchi in ftolo a ti tragitto ha!
Mifera Dido, ma più mifero Alceo!
Tutto perdefi, che il refto a fperar!
Con' il defino auteus
Ingannarme cangiò d' afpetto?
Quello è il più ne, quello il contento
Alli laffi, che ad Alceo promeeratti
Amore, Aquilo, numi tutti dal Ciel
Che in tranco, in fallo, in erron,
Afpettra e pur!
Per pietà mi trasforma
Era fedlero d' un difperato cor
Perchè non vieni, morte,
Il corfo a troncar de mali miei
Ahi! meco fol tanto crudel to fei
Ho perduto il bel fembiante
Non mi trovo alcun rifiuto
Ho perduto il mio teforo
Le mie ritrifte, oh dio dov'è.
Quelli ruenti, il quelle pianto
Sempre rubrenti i miei lamenti
Chi mio vide tua fi nemon
Ferocemente al par di me.
Dafne mia fedlce amante
Vieni ogni ora a te d' appreffo
Odiarer tutto, odio me ftefio
Che avrei to fon da te.

New Scene, Madame Banti.—*Haydn.*

RECITATIVE.

Revenire che fia!
More il tuo bene
Bingiolo, e tu non corri
Oh dio pavella ? Ingrato palfo
Un gelido mi fcorre
Infolito tremor tutto le vene
Ho gran pena il fuo prio il pid fedlero
Dove fon? quel confolo fallo d' Ideo
Tutte fuoffe ideonbra
La mia ragione, Vergo Demetrio! Il vegno
Che in arte di ferir—ferami vivi
D' antiguo in feeli del core
Ad onta vidtra giurargli di
Dirò che l'amo mifero me
D' ideare il giorno bafeia il Ciel!
L'amo irritata, i miei mefcinti fpergiuri
Abbiol lafciato ch' io fiacciera il mio ben
Rachiel Dal ro m' impedire
E intanto forfe un colpo imperveffo
Ah ferire cottanti, fcoppio orrefo
Affetti, anima bella ombre compagne
A Lete andrem fe non potei falvarti
Parch fedel, mi to mi guardi, e guardi
Non parir bell' idol mio
Per quell' onda
All' altra fponda
Voglio anch' io paffar con te
Me infelicevache fogo! Che ragione!
Dove refpira fono
Del tiranno crudel de miei martiri
Mifera Berenice ah to delirt
Perche fe tanti fiate
Che delirar mi fee
Perchè non m' uccidete
Affanni del mio core
Crudorte ah Dio crudeme
Finche mi porga aita
Con un ferro la vita
L' eterno del dolor.

☞ The Subscribers to the Opera Concert are refpectfully informed, that the two remaining Subfcription Concerts will be on the 11th and 18th of next Month, (the 25th being Whit-Monday).

☞ At the requeft of a very great number of the Subfcribers, there will be Two additional Concerts upon *Wednefday*, the 27th of May, and *Wednefday*, the 3d of June, (the Concert of Antient Muſic falling between on the 28th of May) for which nights two feparate Tickets will be delivered for One Guinea; and the Subfcribers to this Concert will have a preference for themſelves and their friends until the 18th of May after which the Subfcription will be open for the Public. — At thefe Concerts Mr. FERLENDIS, from Venice, will play (for the firſt time in this country) upon the Englifh Horn.

This is a programme for Haydn's benefit concert on 4th May, 1795 at which the "London" Symphony was first performed. An eye-witness wrote his comments on the margin. Albi Rosenthal, London-Oxford.

one changed the Donaueschingen MS. When the change entered the sources and if it was with Haydn's approval, we cannot say; at any rate, we find it in Salomon's trio arrangement, in his quintet arrangement, and in the Birchall print. The whole thing is, of course, a huge joke. The music begins yet again with the accompaniment, but it seems as if the soloist – in this case the flute – has forgotten to come in; and when he does, there is the dissonance in the strings who seem to be blissfully unaware of what is going on above them. The next time, they "get it right". Possibly this was a joke which did not come off. But since it was obviously what Salomon and his orchestra played at the first performance, there seems no reason to accept the change, which was certainly made later and is, until better evidence is uncovered, of doubtful authenticity. At the end, this village band makes another mistake: the horns come in with a pedal point too early (bar 154), sitting placidly on octave "D", although there is a dominant seventh harmony a bar later. It was the kind of Austrian humour which did not go down well in the old *Reich* (Germany). Beethoven was to remember all this tomfoolery when writing the peasants' dance in the "Pastoral Symphony" wherein the oboe comes in on the wrong beat. Schindler tells us[9] ". . . Beethoven asked me if I had noticed how village musicians would often fall asleep while playing, sometimes let the instrument sink and not play for a while, then wake up with a start, make a few hearty blasts or blowings at random, yet usually in the right key, and then go back to sleep again . . . There were dances in which the 3/4 measure suddenly gave way to a 2/4 bar. In the 1820s I still used to hear such dances in villages within a few hours' distance of the capital, such as Laab, Kaltenleutgeben, Gaden, and others." In the Trio of the "Clock" Haydn has given us a delightful view of such a village band in the 1790s – complete with sleepy strings, delayed entrances, wrong entries and hurdy-gurdy effects.

The *Finale* lays excellent claim to being the greatest symphonic last movement of Haydn's career. It is pre-eminent even in a series of twelve scintillatingly brilliant finales. Formally it is the descendant of No. 94's effervescent *Finale* except that No. 101 hardly has any second subject; everything is based on the main theme. In the dominant the place of the second subject is taken by a pure derivative of the first. The music starts developing immediately. In the following *tutti* (still in dominant) we notice that under the glittering series of quavers in the first violins, the basses of the orchestra are pounding out the first three notes of the main subject. We return to a slightly varied restatement and then comes perhaps the most impressive of all Haydn's many "minore" sections in a finale. This one is ferocious beyond all expectations, its enormous energy assisted by furious quavers throughout, sometimes in the middle parts, sometimes on the top. It starts out like a real "C" section but by the time we are in the relative major the first theme emerges from the boiling mass of quavers. And attentive listeners will have heard that the flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets and timpani have a direct quotation, though only rhythmic, of the main theme when the minor section begins: which for a time only the kettledrums sustain – another of many instances when Haydn assigns important functions to this instrument, the effective qualities of which took on an entirely new dimension in Haydn's late symphonies. After this display of D minor we would expect a restatement; but no, Haydn has in store for us a *fugato* based on the main theme, which rushes away *pianissimo* in a long section full of *Midsummer Night's Dream* fantasy – an inspiration which was to have a profound effect on Mendelssohn.

The *fugato* spreads into a large-sized orchestral *tutti*, with the countersubject in the clarinets and lower strings with bassoon. After a last farewell to the main theme (with the usual "farewell" tonic pedal point and $I\frac{6}{4}$ – I natural $\frac{7}{5}$ harmonies)[10], there is a rousing conclusion and, incidentally, Haydn's last use of an old and much-loved symphonic device: to end the movement with three repeated chords preceded by a rest (and a cadential formula). There are finales of greater monothematic tension (such as No. 103's), of greater wit (such as No. 102's), of greater contrapuntal dexterity (such as No. 95's): but none in which all these elements are combined with such fantastic virtuosity, such real *panache*, as in the "Clock's!" *Vivace*.

[9] *Beethoven as I knew him* (MacArdle-Jolly), London 1966, p. 146.

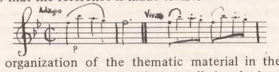
Symphony No. 102 in B Flat (1794)

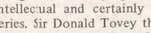
No. 102, the first of the three Symphonies for the Opera Concert of 1795, was composed the previous year. In many respects this great work opens a whole new avenue of symphonic thought which hardly anyone except Beethoven – certainly not Schubert – chose to explore. The principal element, not new in Haydn's previous *oeuvre* but hardly exploited to this extent hitherto, is the enormous sense of concentration, thematic, motivic, orchestral, formal, with which No. 102 is infused. This is not to say that No. 102 is necessarily shorter than its fellows (though in fact it is slightly shorter than its numerical partners, Nos. 101 and 103) but that Haydn is working so tightly with his material that the overall impression is one of brevity. No. 102 is also Haydn's loudest and most aggressive Symphony, at least in the outer movements. In the opening *Vivace* there are stretches of *forte* that continue for bars at a time, and all at a very high level of tension. Except for the repetition of the main subject in *piano* (upbeat to 31-37), the exposition runs *f* from bar 23 (with upbeat) for the next fifty bars, until the second subject enters; and there is a similar stretch from the middle of the development, bar 192 *ff.*, which except for a tiny interruption just before the recapitulation (mainly to bring in a huge timpani *crescendo*) continues to the second subject at bar 263. As if to balance this *forte* display of tension, the slow movement introduces tension of another kind, with the dynamic level muted (also literally, in the trumpets) but with, if anything, an increase in the feeling that the music gives us of vast, unleashed power held tightly in check. It is a movement with many levels of emotion, and one of the most complex slow movements Haydn ever wrote. But although Haydn repeats the first section of the *Adagio*, the movement as a whole shares the intellectual compression of the outer movements. Here, too, is concentration on the highest level. Altogether this Symphony might be considered the most intellectual and certainly the most powerful of the London series. Sir Donald Tovey thought it, No. 104 and the Quartet in F Op. 77 No. 2 Haydn's greatest instrumental works. Some critics, indeed, consider No. 102 Haydn's greatest Symphony.

Haydn made few significant changes in the texts of his Salomon Symphonies when he returned to Austria in the Autumn of 1795, but it just happens that there are a number of such alterations in this work. A word must be said in preface to Haydn's changes which he liked to make in the original performance material. Much of this material for the late works has survived, *e.g.* for the *Creation* and the last six Masses, also for parts of the London Symphonies (*e.g.* the wind parts of Nos. 102-4 in Donaueschingen Castle, which are written by Johann Elssler on British paper with the watermark 1794). Many of these alterations – the additional phrasing, *staccato* mark and, especially, an accent *fz* – are found only on the parts and not on the autograph. In the case of the changes in No. 102, Haydn took the considerable trouble to enter them on the autograph manuscript. The first of these changes is in the orchestration of the introduction, one of Haydn's greatest and most profound. Many critics have been struck by the similarity in feeling between this *Largo*, with its unison opening (marked with a *fermata* and a "hairpin" dynamic mark < >), and the beginning of the *Creation* also a *Largo* (the Description of Chaos). There is the same feeling of great space, of cosmic loneliness (perhaps, really, Haydn's view of eternity through Herschel's giant telescope). Originally Haydn scored these two for the gaunt, monkish sound of horns, trumpets, timpani and strings (bars 1 and 6). This is the sound which greeted the audience at the Opera Concert when the Symphony was first performed but also the only way British audiences heard the work for many years. As it happens, the Donaueschingen performance material of this work contains not only the wind and timpani parts on 1794 British paper but also the strings, so that we have as it were an authentic record of No. 102 as performed by Haydn in London in 1795. We also have the Birchall print which follows the London tradition. When Haydn returned to Austria, he added the wind parts for this opening (and bar 6), carefully scratching out the rests in the autograph and inserting the appropriate notes. Since he never took the trouble to tell Salomon of this change, the Birchall print gives us the unchanged London version. Although there is much to recommend the original London version of these bars, we have deferred to Haydn's later wish and printed the score as he changed it (in the new critical edition for the Haydn-Mozart-Presse and Philharmonia).

[10] The "farewell" aspect of the harmonies is not only because it is the last entrance of theme and has these typically Haydnesque progressions, but it also recalls a real farewell scene in a Haydn opera, namely the last act of *Le pescatrici* (1769). There, we find the same pedal point as Eurilda and Lindoro prepare to set sail. See the piano score (Universal Edition), pp. 319 *f.*

The introduction continues with the following five notes which appear later in the middle strings and then in the basses. During the *Vivace* Haydn seems to touch on the outline of the five notes in the very theme itself but later quotes it exactly, much accelerated of course, at the end of the exposition (bars 72 *ff.*) and later in the recapitulation: there it is in the tonic. Each time this little phrase is repeated several times so that the reference is made clearer:



The organization of the thematic material in the *Vivace* shows a power and concentration equalled only by the first movement of Symphony No. 88 (1787). Haydn achieves the unity and diversity of his subjects by contrapuntal means, as he had done in No. 88/I. The first subject has a powerful upbeat, which Haydn accents in the second part of the opening phrase with a *fz*. The interplay between the accented upbeat and the natural stress of the first beat is exploited by Haydn throughout the exposition; in bars 39 *ff.* we find and at bars 49 *ff.*  corresponding to the first and second part of the theme. In the bridge passage to the dominant, a motif from the first subject is worked into an inner part with itself and its inversion, and this corresponds to what is going on above and below this motivic transformation, namely a six-note phrase which is presented simultaneously with its inversion in the bass line.

We have noted that dance-tune quality of the second subjects in the first movements of Symphonies Nos. 99 and 101. Here in No. 102 we have a different kind of second subject. If those in Nos. 99 and 101 were marked by strong upbeats as opposed to the square on-the-beat quality of their first-subject partners, here in No. 102 the same principle in reverse is observed, *viz.* strong-on-the-beat accents for the second subject. But whereas the second subjects of Nos. 99 and 101 were designed to release some of the tension generated by the previous part of the exposition, here in No. 102 the opposite obtains. Full of tension though the first subject and its extension were, the second increases the tension. Partly this is the huge contrast between *ff* and *p*, partly it is the automatic on-the-beat accents and partly the use of rests.

The development is a new milestone in the history of sonata form. Many of Haydn's earlier developments had reached high levels of tension, but nothing quite to compare with this. For one thing, the *forte* character of the main subject necessitates its being presented at the recapitulation in the rôle of a conqueror. Thus by its very nature it required a different approach than the witty, *piano* themes such as figured in other sonata movements with striking development sections such as Nos. 88, 92 or 100. In No. 102, the two widely contrasting themes are interwoven in a deadly serious combat, which reaches a climax in the D minor canon. Even the main subject is stripped for battle. If all this material was first examined intellectually in the exposition it is now treated dramatically in the development. The second subject is given wide scope here, as wide as the tonal field on which all this drama is enacted (C minor → E flat → dominant of F minor → A flat → B flat minor → C minor → D minor → G minor → C minor → C major → C minor → modulation back to the recapitulation). As the tension mounts, we may observe the means by which Haydn produces his battle. Rhythmic acceleration is one such device; the second subject is speeded up to prepare the way for the moment of greatest motivic tension, a closely worked canon which begins in D minor. The momentum stops by means of a grand pause at bar 184, and the first subject now comes in C major, *piano*, which is broken off by the orchestra in a *ff tutti*. This *tutti* carries the music slowly towards B flat major and the recapitualtion, a phenomenal tribute to Haydn's ability to start the tension increasing all over again after such a climax as the canon. But Haydn's sense of broad structure is of an unfailing genius in this movement and indeed throughout the Symphony. And just when the music seems not to be able to stand any more pressure from within, Haydn abates the dynamic level, introduces a long drum roll (four bars) with a *crescendo* and propels the music over the top and into the recapitulation. In order not to break the dramatic tension, Haydn simply skips the *piano* repetition of the main subject – which in any case we have just experienced in C major in the development – so that the music can continue to roll forward in one unbroken *forte* wave to the gates of the second subject. Here are the off-beat *forzati*, too, that will colour the whole of Beethoven's writing, and the virtuoso treatment of brass and timpani (bars 243 *ff.*)which will create *scuola* for the next fifty years.

Haydn also used the *Adagio* as the middle movement of the F sharp minor piano Trio No. 40. There is something special about the symphonic movement in Haydn's entire *oeuvre*, and this extends even to the autograph manuscript, which has its own otherwise blank title page with only the word "Adagio" in Haydn's hand; at the head of the actual music is "In Nomine Domini" with which he was accustomed to begin his manuscripts. We now come to a very important later (Austrian) addition to Haydn's score, namely the use of mutes for the trumpets and timpani. These signs ("Con Sordini" for the trumpets and "Con Sordino" for the "Tympani" which Haydn usually wrote in the singular, "Tympano") are missing from the Donaueschingen parts on British paper and also from the Birchall print, and unless Haydn then gave instructions to the effect orally, they are later additions. Mozart, when requiring mutes for Idomeneo in Munich, found difficulty in obtaining them and had to write to Salzburg to get them; the chorus "O voto remendo" includes parts for muted trumpets and muffled drums (for that is what the term "con sordini" means for the timpani; in some cases, the word "coperti" was used). Haydn incidentally can hardly have heard *Idomeneo*, which apart from the Munich première (and the following performances) was only given privately at the Palais Auersperg in Vienna during Mozart's lifetime. Like Mozart, Haydn may have found it difficult to organize the necessary trumpet mutes in London. The mutes, in any case, alter the character of the instruments completely, giving them a rather sinister, snarling tone which is very startling. As he often does with exotic instrumental effects, the muted trumpets and covered drums do not enter immediately: they are held back until the repetition of the first section. At one point (bar 56) the trumpets hold a single note (middle C) after the rest of the orchestra has stopped playing, a strange jet of dark colour. The use of muted trumpets and covered timpani in a symphony is one of Haydn's most daring orchestral innovations. It seems to have been an Austrian speciality.

The movement is a free variation form of a kind as unique

in Haydn's symphonies as the orchestration (of which more later). The formal freedom is such that although on paper the *Adagio* looks perfectly normal, in practice it sounds like a rhapsody or, as the composer often called such movements, "Capriccio". Part of this rhapsodic atmosphere comes from the eccentric theme, with its constant rhythmic displacements; part comes from the equally eccentric orchestration; part from the harmonic range, which surpasses anything that Haydn had written in a symphony; and part comes from the exaggerated dynamic marks – orgies of *crescendi, decrescendi, forzati,* little accents, and so forth. The score sometimes looks like a work written fifty years later. The formal scheme is as follows:

A^1 A^2 A^3 A^4
I → V I → V ♭III (flatted mediant major) → I + coda

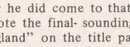
Haydn scores the first "A" section (16 bars) for flute, oboes, bassoons and strings. In the middle of bar two, our ears are assailed by a new sound, a solo violoncello which soon begins to establish for itself a brooding series of triplets which give still another shade of dark to a colour already opaque and misty. One notes, too, that the wind instruments are used in a very full and free fashion, so that the shades of the orchestra all run together to form a vague and blurred painting. The sense of dark-hued yearning that this extraordinary *Adagio* calls forth reminds one – if there is such a thing as a visual transfer of music to painting – again and again of the humanity, subtlety and tenderness of Watteau.

One can almost sense the tramping Bruegelian wooden feet in the heavily symphonic *Menuet.* It is altogether fascinating to observe how Haydn manages to retain the dance character as well as making his minuets thoroughly symphonic.

The Trio looks forward far into the nineteenth century: its doubling of the oboe and bassoon at the octave with the first violin in between is Brahmsian. The rôle of the flute, which only plays a cadential drop of the third, reminds one of the *ars combinatoria* permutations. It is a curious effect and also slightly unsettling, like the permutations in the Trio of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony.[11] What is this *commedia dell'arte* clown doing at this stately, beautiful dance? The clown, at any rate, is no more comic than Watteau's *Gilles.* In this quietly persuasive Trio, we feel that Haydn, like Watteau himself, is "tendre et peur-être un peu berger" . . .

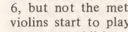
The similarities between Beethoven's Fourth Symphony in B flat and the present work are many and on a deep level. Their two Finales are also much alike, even to the slowing-up of the main theme just before the end. They are also part of the great *opera buffa* tradition, which had such a profound and decisive effect on Haydn's symphonic style in the middle 1770s. No. 102's *Finale* is high comedy, and its success is perhaps the more surprising if one considers that the movement caps one of Haydn's most learned and serious symphonies.

Formally it is a sonata-rondo, that is with the "development" starting in the tonic, and it is almost completely monothematic. There is a kind of second subject which is accompanied by repeated quavers in the manner of a "parlando" Italian aria (bars 78 *ff.*, 234 *ff.*). It is even funnier the second time, when Haydn has the trumpets holding a fifth through the texture, only to break into *fz* as they hold the notes:



It is pure *buffo.* Since the effect of much Italian comic opera rests on the unexpected, this aspect of such a Finale is most important. Even the way the main subject gets to the dominant, *via* D minor, is entirely unexpected and amusing. The chattering woodwind in the "B" section of the a-b-a opening is also *opera buffa.* Later the theme even stutters, first at bars 109 *f.*, where the middle strings first have

before the second violin starts out in earnest with its pattern of semiquavers



Then the music hiccups before the main theme comes in the second time:

The "chattering" woodwind part is now reinforced by timpani (bars 140 *ff.*), which adds a Falstaffian swagger to the whole. In the "development" section, the music touches A major for a moment. It seems that it was this passage that inspired the Viennese correspondent of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* to write the following note, dated Vienna, 1 May 1799: ". . . Haydn once again directed two brand new [ganz neue] Symphonies at Count F's [Fries] that are very interesting. They are among his finest but are so atypical that one is dumbfounded by the composer's extraordinary powers of invention. The following is especially to be relished. The rondo theme of the one begins in B flat, modulates very easily into A major within a few bars and closes again right afterwards just as easily in B flat" (Jahrgang I, col. 544). Pohl III (148) thought the correspondent meant "As dur" and not "A dur", *i.e.* A flat, and that the Symphony must have been No. 98, where the solo violin enters at the beginning of the development in A flat. Edward Olleson[12] thinks No. 102's *Finale* must be meant. What is interesting is that the Symphony was so unknown in Vienna in 1799.

In this "development" (which we place in quotation marks because it is really more of a pseudo development), there is a mock *fugato* on a derivative of the main subject, and then the two violins chase each other into the recapitulation, which Haydn deliciously varies by marking the first violins' entrance with a whiplash *fz*. The stuttering reaches a climax just before the end. The music slows down (the *ritardando* is written out in the score) and leaves the first violins to play a slow-motion phrase of the main subject. It is the next thing to Shakespearian humour, and even the sentimental *piano* repetition of the *ff* and *fz* passage has a poise and grace to it that is like the end of an Elizabethan comedy.

As the music hiccups ( ) and stutters its way to the end, even the kettledrums tap out the first three notes of the main theme ; just as they had done at the end of the first movement. It is the most sensational of all Haydn's "joke" finales, and we have completely forgotten how the Symphony began. The solemn profundity has turned to midsummer madness, just like an oft-quoted Swedish description of Haydn himself, with his lightening-swift facial changes from serious to humorous. Symphony No. 102 is a miniature autobiographical sketch of its composer; it contains in its four movements the quintessential Joseph Haydn.

Symphony No. 103 in E flat (1795)
"Drum Roll"/"Mit dem Paukenwirbel"

As Haydn was composing Symphony No. 102, he may have come to the momentous decision to stop writing symphonies after the 1795 season was finished. It is significant that he firmly resisted all offers to write a symphony after 1795, even the charming invitation from the Concert des Amateurs in Paris of 1802. But whenever he did come to that decision, it was probably before he wrote the final- sounding "The twelfth I have composed in England" on the title page of No. 104's autograph. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to consider the last three Symphonies in this light of finality: in each, Haydn intended to display another facet of his seemingly endless inventiveness. In No. 102 we have a Symphony which starts out as a serious, learned work and ends up with a display of Haydn's symphonic *opera buffa* technique. The slow movement was a daring experiment in new orchestral timbres. In No. 103 we have a number of novel experiments, too: the construction of a slow introduction connected to the main body of the movement in a fashion more complex and at a deeper level than any eighteenth century symphony except Mozart's K. 543 in the same key; the composition of a monothematic finale of a tighter construction and a more relentless unity than any movement before the first of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; and the conscious use of popular tunes throughout. The dance-like quality of the first subject is carried a step further in the popular cast of the second, with its um-pah-pah accompaniment. In the *Menuet* there is even the imitation of a yodel. The themes of the second movement are profoundly eastern European, and whether they are in fact Croation, Hungarian or Gypsy is in a sense immaterial to the Symphony. The theme of the *Finale* has also been traced as a folk song from Croatia. The point is Haydn's integration of them into the language of the international classical style, just as robust Hungarian dishes found favour with the fastidious Viennese aristocracy, they were a piquant change from the everyday fare. And there is one last detail in this Symphony that sets it off from its numerical fellows: the extended violin solo, probably written for the distinguished leader of the Opera Concert Orchestra, Giovan Battista Viotti, with whom Haydn was on friendly terms. It is written, however, to delight the leader of any band, since it displays his tone, his musicianship and his good taste rather than any sort of empty virtuosity.

The introduction starts with a timpani roll. It is one of the most original beginnings of all symphonic music and we can well believe the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* that it "excited the deepest attention". Haydn marks the drum roll "Solo" and "Intrada" but assigns no dynamic mark to it. Nor does the London performance material at Donaueschingen (the timpani part is on British paper, written by Johann Elssler in London in 1795). Obviously there has to be a dynamic mark, but its complete absence here and at the repeat near the end of the movement suggests that Haydn may have left the dynamic "interpretation" up to the performer. But what did the Viotti Orchestra play? The arrangement for piano trio by Salomon has < >, and this "hairpin" has become the traditional way of performance. On the other hand, Salomon's quintet arrangement, which also exists in his autograph, has *ff*, presumably followed by a long *decrescendo.* When this reading was first adopted in modern times by the late Hermann Scherchen in 1950, it proved enormously effective. Charles Rosen (*op. cit.*, p. 348) disapproves of our having incorporated this *ff* reading into the main text of the new edition, giving the hairpin as an alternate reading. He prefers the "hairpin" version and adds, "if the new edition is surely unwise to accept the *fortissimo* attack suggested by the piano quintet arrangement of 1797, it is certain that the timpanist should make this a very long and effective roll." Probably no further source material will come to light to clarify the matter, and conductors may at present choose between Salomon's two oddly contrasting versions.

Without knowing the score, and listening to a performance with closed eyes, no one could possibly tell the metre of the opening: *(see opposite page fig. 1)*
It is as mysterious as the "Be fruitful" passage from the *Creation,* but also full of foreboding; the oblique reference to the "Dies Irae" plainchant may not have struck Anglican audiences, but it was clear to the Catholic world, and of course Haydn's earlier symphonies have the occasional reference to Gregorian chants (*incipit Lamentatio,* and so forth). The wind band chord clarifies the tonal world of the introduction at bar 6, but not the metre, which remains formless until the two violins start to play at bar 14; and even then it takes some time to establish a clear triple time.

The integration of this extraordinary *Adagio* into the main *Allegro con spirito* proceeds at several different levels. Just before the second subject is introduced, we find a passage which reads as follows: *(see opposite page fig. 2)*
It takes us a while to realize that this theme is a speeded-up version of the opening notes of the introduction. Haydn places is squarely in context by having it follow in the recapitulation immediately after the whole introduction is brought in; and then we recognize it immediately, not least because it is now in the tonic: *(see right fig. 3)*

In the middle of the development there is a half-cadence on the dominant of C (bars 107-111); it is sufficiently insistent to make us remember the end of the introduction, also a half-cadence on the dominant of C. Haydn then proceeds to bring in another speeded-up variant of the opening bars: *(see right fig. 4)*
After the second subject in the recapitulation, the music changes mood in a series of tremolos which become increasingly sinster and menacing, dying away in questioning diminishing chords; whereupon the introduction itself enters. It is as dramatic as the last act of *Don Giovanni,* and another astonishing innovation, as new as the grim timpani roll that announced the "intrada" once again.

Haydn originally marked the double variation slow movement *Andante* but later added *più tosto Allegretto;* he made this change long after having left England, because all the London sources have only *Andante*, and so do the Continental MSS. and prints. This double variation, in alternating minor amd major, drops the clarinets entirely; Haydn's players in London were patently not the best, and we shall see that even in the transmission of the sources there are problems with the clarinets which suggest strongly that these players were the weakest link of the 1794-5 British orchestras.

We now come to the problem of the melodic origin(s) of the two principal themes in this movement. Obviously we are forced to rely on the evidence of nineteenth-century researchers, since (as we have pointed out earlier) the peasants who used to sing such tunes no longer do so; villages in Hungary, where Kodály and Bartók found old people who could still remember the ancient folk-songs transmitted orally from generation to generation, now have other problems and different songs. The industrial revolution and two great wars have almost wiped out the living tradition of eastern European folk-song, despite the frantic efforts by the authorities to stem the tide. We learned some of the difficulties of tradition *versus* the demands of modern life on a long tour in the Roumanian provinces in the Autumn of 1960; one could see the old and noble traditions crumbling before one's eyes, defeated by the wireless, the tractor and the collective farm. We may mourn this passing of a perhaps Europe's greatest, certainly its most original, folk-song tradition, but our mourning is of necessity historical. With such totally altered social and economic conditions, how could one hope to keep alive (except artificially) a folk-song tradition hundreds of years old which was grounded in forgotten wars, long forgotten invasions and (almost) forgotten feudal life.

Unfortunately, nineteenth-century researchers did not have the scientific accuracy or the impartial sympathy of a Bartók or Kodály. National prejudices and anti-Austrian (=anti-Imperialist) feelings coloured many of their findings. The Croatians tried to make Haydn a Croatian, the Hungarians a Hungarian. It was stupid and unhistorical, but these researchers were caught up in a process over which, to some extent, they had no control. But the entire evidence of a Kuhač can hardly be dismissed out of hand. There is no doubt that the south Slavonic peasants did sing melodies extremely similar to those of No. 103's slow and final movements; just as there is no doubt that the whole *ductus* of the first subject is profoundly, completely "eastern European". The raised F provides a melodic line which is part of the Balkans' life-blood (E flat to F sharp to G and back again). Thus we can do nothing else but present the evidence as assembled by Kuhač in his monumental "South Slavonic Popular Songs" and translated by Sir W. H. Hadow's little Book.[13]

Kuhač established that the first subject of No. 103/I is Croatian (Kuhač III, 92; Hadow 46), and that the two melodies of No. 103/II are based on two folk-songs of the Oedenburg district, "Na Travniku" and "Jur Postaje" (Kuhač III, 100 *ff.*, Hadow 46). Oedenburg (Sopron) was the nearest large town of the Eszterháza district, and there are in the whole region Croatian, Hungarian and German villages. The two melodies are very similar and may derive from some common melodic root, now unknown.

An interesting point of orchestration is that Haydn relies heavily in both melodies on the bottom *contra-C* of the cellos and double basses, which once again proves that either he had five-string double basses with low C as the bottom string, or they tuned the three-string basses differently. This old-fashioned orchestration is perhaps connected with the use of the old folk-songs. As the movement progresses, the orchestration, curiously, gets more and more modern, almost as if Haydn were escorting the old tunes through music history. *Maggiore II* (bars 85 *ff.*) is the elegant violin solo, while *Minore III* brings in the trumpets and kettle-drums for the first time in this movement. By now Haydn also always connects their entrance with some kind of surprise; it was a simple but always devastatingly effective device. *Maggiore III* is enchantingly orchestrated, with the "toy music" that we remember from the "Military" Symphony. From this point to the end, the music remains in C major. There occurs in this section perhaps the largest deceptive cadence in Haydn's career. After a big *tutti*, there appears to come one of his beautiful, sentimental endings – over the tonic pedal point we remember so well from similar passages (such as in No. 97/II). At the very last minute the music modulates into E flat and the whole mood is broken. It is another of Haydn's jokes, and it is well prepared, the arrival in E flat being preceded by a *crescendo* which grows across two bars and arrives *fortissimo.* The final statement of the *maggiore* section has not only the murmuring bass line but an enormous timpani roll, also with a *fz* at the beginning of each bar. The whole movement strikes one as a (highly successful) attempt to write another "Military" march-like movement which would bring the house down: for this reason the sentimental journey was broken off and we end with the rousing fanfares. We note once again the delicate balance between the very learned and the very popular. The first movement was a complicated formal structure filled with popular tunes, but still a serious movement on an unprecedentedly complex scale. The second movement is directly "popular" but uses exotic eastern European melodies; it is so exotic that one expects to have the clarinets in C and the Turkish instruments of No. 100 – but that would have been a lesser composer's trick. Haydn was content to show to himself – because no one in London can have known the original melodies and only a few experts will have caught the "Slavonic" twist of the raised fourth or the pentatonic construction of the second subject – how exotic eastern European tunes could serve to make an unabashedly popular set of double variations. In short, Haydn had done it again. The sheer abundance and fertility of his last three Symphonies will have astounded both connoisseur (like Dr. Burney) and the general public alike. No one had ever written such a series of symphonic works which were instant successes with Press, public and *Kenner.*

By the time we reach the *Menuet* (the clarinets rejoining the band), it is clear that in some respects we are dealing with a folk-song symphony. If it is true that Haydn attempted to display his art in three final supreme efforts, it may be that this concentration on genuine popular melodies in No. 103 is quite deliberate. For here we have a genuine Austrian yodel: *(see above fig. 5)*

Haydn presses the point home when, just before the first double bar, the "yodel-rhythm" of bar two appears isolated in second clarinet, bassoons and horns, followed by its repetition in the upper woodwind. The joke is made even more explicit when the yodel is turned gracefully into "art-music" and used as an elegant modulation to C flat major. (For the violins the composer adds the extra warning, "legato".)

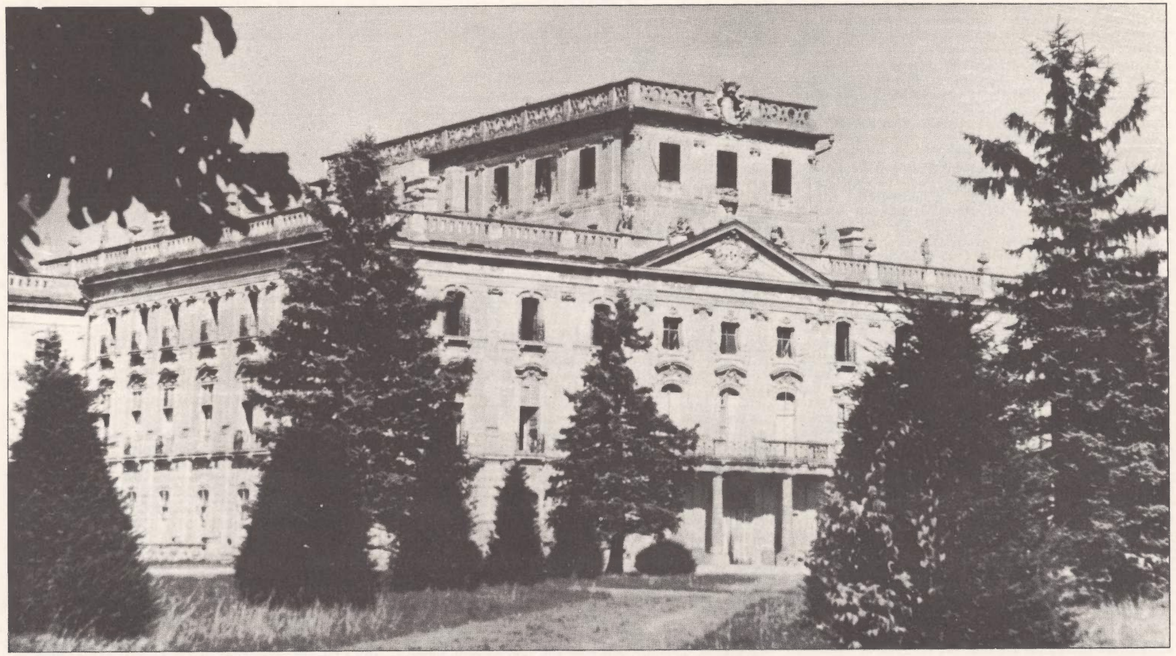
The Trio was a unique opportunity for the clarinets to display their tone. Though Haydn is very cautious to double them with violins, the effect is very characteristic none the less. But something went wrong somewhere. The early German editions simply drop the clarinets in the Minuet entirely, and we shall see that in those editions the clarinets are very defective elsewhere in the Symphony. Were the London clarinet players unable to cope with these parts in the Trio? Haydn, interestingly enough, did not change the autograph, and we also have part of the London performance material (including, as it happens, the clarinets) copied out by Elssler in 1795 and later sent with newer string parts to Donaueschingen Castle.

The *Finale* is without doubt one of the great *tours-de-force,* formally speaking, of Haydn's career: the creation of a long movement on a single theme in which our interest never flags; on the contrary, it is a *Finale* of unusual tension and strength. It is difficult to select details from a movement in which all

[11] See Leonard G. Ratner's interesting article, *"Ars combinatoria:* chance and choice in eighteenth-century music" in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday,* London 1970, p. 359.

[12] "Haydn in the Diaries of Count Karl von Zinzendorf", *Haydn Yearbook II* (1963-4), pp.56 f., where Zinzendorf hears a concert at Count Fries' on 5 April 1799. "Le Concert dans un beau salon très sonore. Toute la ville y etoit . . . Symphonie de Haydn . . ."

[13] F. Kuhač: *Josip Haydn i Hrvatske Narodne Popievka,* Zagreb 1880; W. H. Hadow: *A Croatian Composer, Notes towards the study of Joseph Haydn,* London 1897 (reprinted in W. H. H.'s *Collected Essays,* London 1928).



This is the great palace of Eszterháza when it had fallen into disuse and partial ruin.

the parts are so magnificently fashioned, but perhaps one seemingly insignificant one will show how carefully the fabric is constructed. Part of Haydn's great success, and later Beethoven's in movements that generate this kind of tension is the rhythmic acceleration that accompanies a passage in which the tension is built up. Beethoven's Eight Symphony has recently (by Cooper and Meyer) been selected for a brilliant analysis along these lines. We will confine ourselves to one quotation: the ending of the Symphony in the timpani part (which by the way is quite different from the cello and bass line). Here one can see in a few bars how meticulously Haydn handles even this lowly member of the orchestra to increase the tension as the Symphony draws to an end:

(see previous page fig. 6)

It is the kind of detail that Beethoven certainly did not miss. It is also the sort of highly sophisticated craftsmanship that almost always distinguishes the work of a great musician, great painter or great sculptor. *Deo Matematico . . .*

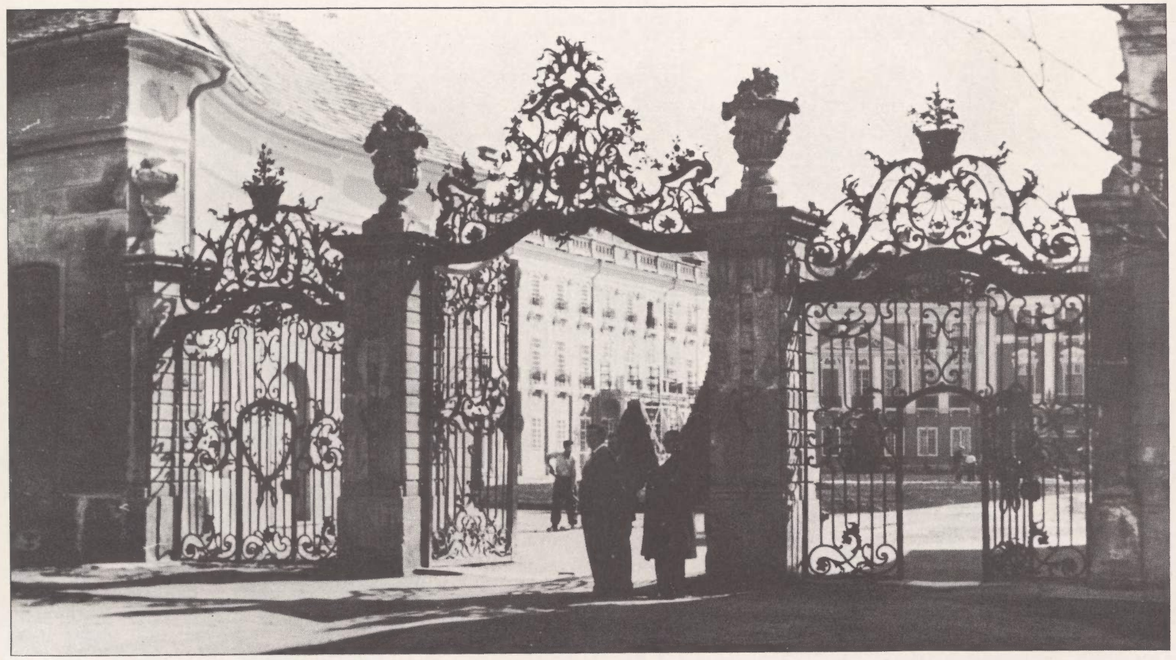
Symphony No. 104 in D (1795) ("London"/"Salomon")

It was not on the whole a typically eighteenth-century practice to attempt a motovic or melodic interrelationship between the various movements of a sonata, a quartet, a trio or a symphony. The very attempt at diversity would seem to preclude such a procedure. But as the eighteenth-century drew to a close, we can observe a conscious attempt to make instrumental works more cyclic, though it may be doubted if many of Haydn's and Mozart's efforts were as cyclic as modern analysis tends to suggest. In Mozart's last four symphonies, however, there seems little doubt that he attempted to create a deeper element of unity within each work, achieved as one might expect by melodic, motivic and intervallic means. We have seen in the foregoing analysis of the Salomon Symphonies that Haydn was also at pains to unify this music in such a manner. The last London Symphony is without question the most spectacular example of such a procedure in a Haydn symphony. Here the interrelationship is fixed by three principal intervals, the fifth, the fourth and the second. These are established with the greatest possible emphasis in the fanfare that begins the Symphony. It is quite obvious that the close intervallic relations between all the movements cannot be fortuitous. We may easily recall those of the principal subjects, but the student will soon see that there are many more throughout the work. The whole has what the Germans call a "quintig" or "fifthy" character, which is often made more apparent by the accompaniments. It is a remarkably early attempt to produce an entire Symphony round three intervals.

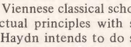
Perhaps the introduction is the greatest of all those in Haydn's symphonies. It has an inevitable, inexorable quality about it which is only really apparent after the first movement, and indeed the whole Symphony, has been heard. Naturally it establishes the intervals; it also "sets up" the opening theme, which appears in a much more important context following the stern D minor beginning. Never was a Haydn *Adagio* more vital to the construction of the whole. The lead into the *Allegro* is made more important by adding the Neapolitan sixth after the unexpected drop, not to the fourth A but to the fifth G.

The main theme is in the great "singing *allegro*" tradition of the Viennese classical school, in turn a synthesis of northern intellectual principles with southern (Italian) vocal melodies. Since Haydn intends to do so much with the opening theme, or at least a part of it, the second subject is postponed to the very end of the exposition; instead, almost the whole of the first subject appears in the dominant (bars 65 *ff.*). This "epilogue"-like quality of the second subject, here and elsewhere in Haydn's works, has always slightly puzzled critics, coming as it does so late in the formal scheme, almost as if it were an afterthought. It is very much an integral part of the subtle increase and decrease of stress, however, and is carefully designed to "ground the tension" (Rosen) of the opening subject. It does this by being very much off-the-beat (also the accompaniment) and by being much more of a popular cast; it is postponed because the development will immediately start the first subject's tension again and will continue it, almost without a break, till the recapitulation. It is just long enough to divide the exposition's earlier tension with the even greater tension of the development.

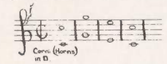
The development has always been much admired, for its



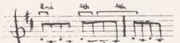
Eszterháza during restoration, beginning to show its former grandeur.

overall "sweep" and also for the concentration of its motivic basis (the six notes, bars 19/20, of the first subject) – though of course other elements of both subjects are used, too. The little theme at the end of the second subject is combined with an accompaniment which, although it is only four repeated crotchets to each bar, contrives to sound like a derivate of bar 19. This illusion is fostered by the bassoon which plays (120 *ff.*).  Even repeated thirds in the second violin (bars 139 *ff.*) can be seen to come directly from accompanying parts of the exposition (bassoons, bars 50 *ff.*). As far as the "sweep" is concerned, Haydn achieves this by slow-moving modulations: B minor, F minor, C sharp → E minor, B minor, dominant of D. Almost the whole section is, as we see, in minor keys, an obvious foil to the predominantly major construction of the exposition and recapitulation. The symmetry of the development is an echo of the introduction, where the music went from D minor to F major and back to D minor – a self-contained harmonic element. In the development the centre of gravity shifts to the submediant, and that is the principal key until just before the recapitulation. In both introduction and development, the music goes away from the harmonic centre and returns to it A. It is harmonically the same inexorable pattern established by the whole tone of the introduction. The top of the modulatory arc in the development is when Haydn returns to B minor from E minor, and at the crucial juncture the timpani enter for the first time since the end of the exposition. (There is also a *ff* here for all instruments in Birchall's print, but no sign of the *ff* in the autograph or Donaueschingen; it is a sensitive and sensible dynamic addition, but did Haydn make it? Or is it the kind of thing he "conducted" and was later transmitted to us by Salomon? The *ff* is also in the Salomon trio arrangement.)

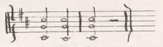
The sense of development is continued in the recapitulation. It is not only that even the main theme is wonderfully varied by giving the second group of eight bars to solo flute and oboes, but the whole previous scheme is profoundly changed. Following the appearance of the second subject, the first is yet again brought in to take the place of the little codetta in the exposition. The last bars concentrate on the fifth interval, the horns sounding out the skeleton of the whole in semibreves:



This was immediately preceded by the following:



The last three chords of the movement are in D without any third, another skeletal presentation of the fifth:



The simplicity of the *Allegro's* formal pattern and its effectiveness, are obvious. The following *Andante*, one of Haydn's best loved and most admired, is equally simple: a-b-a[1] A (tonic major) B (tonic minor) A[1]. Haydn was aiming for the grandeur that comes with absolute formal simplicity. The main subject is orchestrated only for bassoons and strings; it has become so much a part of our musical heritage that we have forgotten what a perfect example of Viennese grace, warmth and craftsmanship it is. The contours are just irregular enough to be new and interesting; the *fz*, which happens twice in the first eight bars, break the symmetry but add two new points of stress where, without them, one would tend to accent, if only slightly, the next quaver, *i.e.* the beginning of bars 3 and 7. The little codetta (bars 33 *ff.* quoted above) over a tonic pedal point is in itself a tender farewell, which Haydn will enlarge to heart-breaking dimensions at the end of the movement. "B" is a "minore" section, excitingly and mysteriously introduced by the main subject in minor: the *tutti* then breaks in with D minor and is, in a word, overwhelming. Never, perhaps – not even in the magnificent "Clock" *minore* – has a contrast of this kind in Haydn been prepared with more finesse and executed with more effect. Later, there is a bar of silence when Haydn reaches what ought to have been the cadence of his modulation to B flat; and this "gran pausa", too, is

immensely effective. In the recapitulation of the "A" section there occurs one of the composer's grand flights of imagination. It is this kind of "leap forward" into time that caused the distinguished German writer and musician E.T.A. Hoffmann to equate Haydn with "romantic music". It is, in fact, the great link between *Wiener Klassik* and *deutsche Romantik*; it made the change from Haydn to Weber less abrupt than we perhaps realize. Rosemary Hughes writes so perceptively about this passage that it would be a pity to use any words but hers. After the apparently normal recapitulation, "the opening melody . . . suddenly floats clear of the earth in an effortless modulation into a remote and luminous region somewhere between A flat and D flat, hovers there for a while, then clouds over enharmonically into C sharp minor, and quietly spirals down again through F sharp (major and minor) into the calm and steady daylight of the home key." At the end the little cadential passage mentioned above (bars 33 *ff.*) is expanded into a coda of sudden poignance. Perhaps it was very hard, after all, to say farewell to one of music's greatest forms . . .

The *Menuet* establishes the gay tone that will predominate for almost all the remaining music of the Symphony. The *fz* accents of the main theme are almost as pointed as in Gypsy music. But withal it is highly symphonic. There is an innovation that rounds out all the timpani effects of the Salomon Symphonies: a long *crescendo* that begins *pp* and propels us with great excitement back into the *reprise*. At the end of the first phrase there had been a long trill in the melody instruments, but also, incredibly, in the first horn (playing, however, sounding E^1 since it could not negotiate C sharp). This trill now assumes the character of a huge joke. It stops the music dead and then continues, twice as large as life, to round off the final cadence. We are in the grotesque world of comic opera, and a combination of Hanswurst and Harlequin at that.

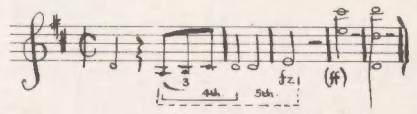
The Trio, lightly scored (flute, oboes, bassoons, strings), is like a half-remembered country dance, "tendre et peut-être un peu berger", with a lilting upbeat which for some odd reason manages to sound nostalgic and far-away. It is in the flatted submediant (B flat) but has as a coda a beautiful modulation back to D major and the *da capo*.

The Croatians claim the melody of the *Finale*, with its drone bass and the characteristic repeated notes of bars 10 (and 18). Kubač says it is "commonly sung" by the Croatian colony in Eisenstadt and also in Kopház near Eszterháza. In point of fact there really are Croatian villages, even today, in the district between Oedenburg (Sopron) and Eszterháza; E.F. Schmid names Homok (Amhagen) and Hidegség as well as Kophaz (Kohlnof). In the last century since Kuhač produced his monumental research, this tradition has all but died out in these Croatian villages; and it is unlikely that the traveller today would hear Haydn's melody in the local inn. Similarly, Eisenstadt was until very recently surrounded by villages with predominantly Croatian population. Schmid names Trauersdorf, Oslip, Stinkenbrunn, Zillingtal, Wulkaprodersdorf, Siegendorf, Zagersdorf and Klingenbach. Haydn really can have heard such a melody there and imported it to London.

But there is an English tradition, for which we can locate no evidence, that the tune is a London street cry, variously identified as "Hot Cross Buns" or "Red Hot Buns". We know that Mrs. Papendiek mixed up several of the Haydn-Salomon concerts in her memoirs. She says that at the opening concert of the 1791 season, Haydn conducted a new symphony. "One of the movements was to imitate the London cries, and 'Live cod' was to be traced through every instrument that could produce the effect. The cry began the piece and ended it, and Salomon was wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm beyond himself. The applause was great." At the first concert of 1791, the two candidates for the "new" Symphony were No. 92 (which cannot have incorporated "Live cod", having been composed in Hungary in 1789) or 96, which is not known to have any such cry. Can Mrs. Papendiek mean the *Finale* of No. 104? "Through every instrument that could produce the effect" may be an oblique reference to the fact that the horns finally get the melody at bars 221 *ff.* And the movement really ends with the "cry", if it is one: bars 309 *ff.* We put all this vague and contradictory evidence before the public without being able to offer a word of encouragement. Even if we think that the tune sounds Balkan, with its repeated notes, it may after all have originated with the fishwives in London.

Whatever its origins, it is a down-to-earth melody with a real drone bass such as Haydn had used with great effect in the Trio of Symphony No. 88. As the broadest possible contrast there is a long lyrical theme as the second subject, the phrasing of which is widely different from the small-segmented opening tune. There is also a closing subject. This is, then, a sonata movement on a very substantial scale, with a development section which starts auspiciously by combining effortlessly the first and third subjects in double counterpoint. The lead-back to the recapitulation turns out to be another one of Haydn's journeys through time. Using the second subject, Haydn moves in slow motion (but in strict tempo: the *ritardando* is fully written out) from C sharp minor to F sharp minor. The latter key is never touched in root position so that Haydn can by a deceptive cadence slide into the recapitulation.

Haydn seems to linger sentimentally over this movement. Any excuse will do to prolong it: a little episode for the first flute and oboes – the last "toy music" a diversion in minor (bars 287 *ff.*). But the time is up, and in a last *tutti*, broadly spaced, with the timpani thundering out the tonic pedal point in quavers, Haydn brings to a close this music, of which it might be said, like the Florence Cathedral, that it was evidence of a heart expanded to much greatness. The last bars, *Deo Matematica*, are the fourth, the second and the fifth.



The autograph closes: *Fine Laus Deo.*

The Salomon Symphonies are published, edited by the present writer, in full scores and parts by the Universal Edition (Haydn-Mozart Presse); and in miniature scores as Volumes XI and XII of the Philharmonia Series (Universal Edition) of the Complete Haydn Symphonies (also separately); in the bound volumes, there are detailed notes on the textual problems of the sources.

Vienna, March 1974

H. C. Robbins Landon

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